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THE

MODERN

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM:

EXTENDING FROM THE

EPOCH OF THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CONSISTING OF

ACCOUNTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND SECTS WHO HAVE BELIEVED THAT DOCTRINE; SKETCHES, BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY, OF AUTHORS WHO HAVE WRITTEN BOTH IN FAVOR OF AND AGAINST IT; WITH SELECTIONS FROM THEIR WRITINGS, AND

NOTES, HISTORICAL, EXPLANATORY AND ILLUSTRATIVE

BY THOMAS WHITTEMORE,

Pastor of the First Universalist Society in Cambridge, Mass., from 1822 to 1831; Editor of the "Trumpet and Universalist Magazine," from 1828 to the present time; author of the "Notes and Illustrations of the Parables;" the "Plain Guide to Universalism;" "Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine;" "Memoir of Rev. Walter Balfour;" "Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou, with Accounts of his Writings," &c.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:

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Entered according to an Act of Congress, in the year 1860,
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TO

REV. THOMAS J. SAWYER, D. D.

Dear Brother,—

To you, more than to any other man, am I indebted for aid in the preparation of the Modern History of Universalism. Very soon after you entered the ministry, you began to show a strong interest in the matter; and from that time until the present, you have been more or less engaged in promoting it. In the German department, your labors have been very valuable, and, in fact, they have been so in all departments. The Universalists of the United States owe you a large debt of honor and gratitude.

For these reasons, among others, my excellent friend, I take the liberty to dedicate this work to you. It is but a feeble testimony of my regard, but it is the best I can render. The effects of your labors will be seen in it all along.

May the Lord bless you and keep you; may he make his face to shine upon and be gracious unto you; may he lift up the light of his countenance upon you and give you peace, Amen.

THOMAS WHITTEMORE.

PREFACE.

I have the satisfaction to lay before the public the first volume of the second edition of the Modern History of Universalism. The first edition came out in 1830, and was favorably received. It was contained in one 12mo. volume of 450 pages, large type. From the time named until the present, I have been upon the watch for facts. But I have not done all I should have been glad to do. During the whole time, I had my paper (the Trumpet) to take care of, which was my chief concern. I should not have undertaken the writing of this work now, had I not thought there was great danger, if I did not accomplish it soon, I should never do it. I did not think that any one could take my hints, memoranda, references, &c., &c., and bring them into form. A sense of duty to write out the work kept pressing upon me. I confess I had serious doubts whether I could get through the labor, if I begun it. My health was far from being perfect, and has not been made better by my toil in the preparation of this book. It has seemed, at times, after I had begun the writing, I must abandon the design, and give up the hope of completing the work. But I have been kept along until this time; and the first volume, bearing many marks of imperfection, is now before the world. I do not believe it the best that could be written, but it was the best I could write under my circumstances. I had to do the best I could, and leave it for those who came after me to do better.

The second volume is nearly written. My hope was to get the whole of the European history into the first volume; but I found it impossible. I shall make the most economical use I can of the four hundred pages of the second volume. It will be seen the page is large; the type is small; the extracts are put in smaller type, and the notes in that which is still smaller. The object has been to get as much as possible into the books. The second volume will complete the work.

And now, how can I fail to ascribe goodness and mercy to Him who has preserved me? My life, my strength, my all are from Him. If this volume shall aid (as I trust it will) in showing that many of the great and good in all ages have rejected with horror the doctrine of endless pains, and have held, with great joy, the hope of the final happiness of all men, and in this way subserve the glory of God, to him shall be all the praise.

Cambridgeport, May 15, 1860.

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INTRODUCTION.

The first edition of this work came out in the beginning of A.D. 1830. The preparation of it had been suggested to the author as early as 1823, by Rev. Hosea Ballou 2d, then pastor of the Universalist Society, in Roxbury, Mass., and now President of Tufts College.

Previous Efforts of Convention to obtain a History.

Several years before 1823, the General Convention of Universalists had taken measures towards bringing out a history, which, however, did not accomplish such a result. The general idea of the history of Universalism, up to 1822–3, was, that that doctrine had been held in the early ages of the Church, and that Origen had been a very famous defender of it. Through the ten or twelve hundred years of darkness which had succeeded Origen, it was thought that Universalism was wholly unknown; that it broke out among some of the sects at the time of the Reformation; that a few distinguished men had held it since, as Bishop Thomas Newton, Dr. George Cheyne, the Chevalier Ramsay, and some others; that John Murray came to this country and established it here about the time of the Revolution, and that, out of his labors, principally, the sect of the Universalists had grown. Such had been regarded to be about all the facts up to about 1826. In 1816, the General Convention had

appointed a committee, consisting of Revs. H. Ballou (the elder), Edward Turner, and Paul Dean, to collect the facts that could be obtained; and the Committee were requested to go on and compile a history of the rise, progress, and present state of Universalism, and especially of its spread in America.* Mr. Turner was better qualified, undoubtedly, than either of his associates, to accomplish the object at which the Convention aimed. Neither of them had had the opportunities to examine the works necessary to be searched to bring out the facts. In 1817, the Committee we have named, reported "no success," and in 1818, they reported that "nothing had been effected," but in 1819, they "reported progress, and asked leave for further opportunity to finish the work." Rev. Jacob Wood had been put upon the Committee in place of Rev. Paul Dean. In the month of September, 1820, appeared the following prospectus:—

Proposals for publishing, by subscription, a work entitled "A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Doctrine of Universal Salvation, with a View of the Present State of the Universalist Societies in Europe and America."

It was said that—

"This History will comprise a brief view of such writers as have asserted the doctrine of Universal Salvation, from Origen, in the third century, to the present time; and the ideas and arguments of such authors will be exhibited in concise extracts from their works. It will embrace a view of some of the causes which contributed to promote the growth of the above doctrine in the United States. A chapter will be devoted to a history of the Convention of Universalist Societies, from its commencement to the present period. The present condition of the societies will be exhibited, and compared with the situation when first known as distinct communities of Christians. The lives and characters of several of the

* See Whittemore's Life of Ballou, vol. i., pp. 416, 417, iii. pp. 27-29 and the MSS. Records of the Convention.

most distinguished preachers of Universalism will be briefly delineated. Towards the conclusion, an account will be given of the state of Universalism in Europe.

"This work has been undertaken by direction of the General Convention of the Universalist Societies. The committee to whom the compiling of this history was confided, have spared no pains in endeavoring to collect the proper materials. There are still, however, some deficiencies, which they have ground to hope will be supplied by the time the work can go to press; if they are not, they will proceed with the publication (if the return of subscribers shall justify them in so doing) with such data as they already possess.

HOSEA BALLOU,
EDWARD TURNER,
JACOB WOOD,
Committee for compiling the above work."

It was to have been put to press as soon as a thousand copies were subscribed for, and it was to have contained about two hundred and fifty pages 12mo. Suffice it to say, this work never appeared, nor have we any evidence that it was ever written. The proposals for publication were made in haste, probably through the eagerness of Mr. Wood; and Mr. Ballou permitted his name to be used, relying principally on the other members of the Committee for the preparation of that part of the work which was to relate to Europe. It is to be regretted that it was not completed; for, although it could not have been perfect, it might have preserved some things which are now irrecoverably lost.

How the Present Histories were Commenced.

Mr. Ballou 2d. urged the collection of facts repeatedly upon the attention of Mr. Whittemore; and these two brethren came, after a short time, to the understanding that they would begin the gathering of materials, Mr. Ballou to take the Ancient part of the history, to wit, from

the time of the Apostles to the Reformation, and Mr. Whittemore the Modern, reaching from the epoch of that great event to our own times. The prospect of success in our search was truly discouraging. We had few marks to guide us. It was like a man going out on a boundless prairie, to search everywhere for favorite flowers, but he knew not where to go; he had to travel at random, with but few indications to guide him, and pick up the flowers wherever he could. So in our undertaking, we had no preceding history to help us. Once in a while, we would find a hint in the preface of some English book, as "Jeremy White's Treatise on Divine Goodness," or "Smith on Divine Government," the first edition of which came out in 1816, when the leading English Unitarians, with few exceptions, embraced and defended the doctrine of the final salvation of all men. Beginning under these disadvantages, we pressed forward, and soon became very deeply interested in our labor. Every once in a while some new light would strike us; some new author would open to us; the fact that some eminent man had defended the doctrine we loved, would come to be seen; these things would at once be communicated from one to the other, and served to keep us in courage, make our labors pleasant, and lead us to hope that at some distant day we might be able to bring out a history of Universalism as it existed both in ancient and modern times.

The Sources of Information.

Among our earliest efforts we petitioned for the use of the library of Harvard University, which was cheerfully granted us by special vote of the proper authority. In the alcoves we spent a part of our time for months (I

might almost say years), steadily pursuing our object. We had not only the privilege of examining the books in the library itself, but of taking to our houses such as we had special use for. We enjoyed, we believe, all the advantages of that library that any resident graduate, or even any officer of the University could enjoy. In this way we went on through the years 1823, '24, '25, and '26. We heard of other valuable libraries, particularly of that of the Salem Atheneum, and the libraries of Rev. Dr. Prince, and Rev. Henry Colman, of that town. The two gentlemen here named are now deceased. I never can forget their kindness. In Dr. Prince's library I first saw the *Monthly Repository*, an English Unitarian periodical (the continuation of the *English Universalist Theological Magazine*); and from that work I obtained more assistance than from any other I had then seen. Besides the libraries mentioned, we had free use of the Boston Atheneum, and various other similar institutions.

The Publication of the Modern History.

In July, 1828, Mr. Whittemore commenced the publication of the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*. This new source of excitement turned his attention in no small degree, from the researches after the facts for the history. Mr. Ballou, in the meantime, pressed forward; and, in the month of February, 1829, he gave his work to the public. It was greeted on all hands with approbation. The publication of the Ancient History was an incitement to Mr. Whittemore to press on the Modern to completion. The latter was written between the time of the publication of the Ancient History and January, 1830.

Feelings of Mr. Ballou 2d, on its Appearance.

Rev. Mr. Ballou, my coadjutor, was the first to speak of the Modern History on its appearance. He said—

"Having had occasion to read 'The Modern History of Universalism' as it came in sheets from the press, I hope to be excused from any seeming forwardness, in offering, thus early, the *first* remarks to the public on the contents and value of that work. I shall not enter into detail, nor attempt a regular Review; but merely state the general impressions I received from the perusal.

"Though somewhat acquainted with the subject beforehand, I found my previous calculations exceeded by the successful collection of materials from an unexplored field, whose extent, bounded only by the uncertain limits of modern literature, was enough to discourage research. I met with a mass of important information, to me entirely new; as well as a great number of interesting circumstances in those affairs which had been imperfectly understood. Judging from myself, I may venture to promise that our brethren, and the public in general, will find Univeralism to have been received, at different times, in most of the countries of Europe, far more extensively than they have supposed; and that they will place on the list of its believers, many eminent names, which are little suspected of belonging to that class. So far as I can discover, the important facts, in every part of the History, appear substantiated either by unquestionable documents, or by adequate and convincing proofs.

"On the completion of a work, which, during five or six tedious years, was a subject of progressive doubt, distrust, hope, and confidence, mingled with deep anxiety, I may be allowed to confess, in gratitude to God, a lively sense of pleasure, heightened by relief from past care. Through the Divine blessing, the entire History of Universalism, Ancient and Modern, is at length before the public; and our brethren have the opportunity, enjoyed by few other denominations, of becoming familiar with the progress and fortune of their peculiar doctrine, from the age of the Apostles to the present time. We may, indeed, in our enthusiasm, overrate the benefit thus conferred on the cause of truth; but, in that case, an indulgent public will, doubtless, excuse a circumstance so naturally arising from the zeal which alone could encounter the difficulties of the undertaking, and which increased with the increasing labors of the work."

Opinions of the Reviewers.

Other writers expressed their opinions of the new work. Rev. Wm. A. Drew, editor of the *Christian Intelligencer*, published at Gardiner, Me., said, in 1830—

"It gives us peculiar pleasure to introduce this work to the consideration of our readers and the public. The want of a full and faithful history of our sentiments from the apostolic age, has long been felt in our denomination; not only that we might hold a just and generous fellowship with the master spirits of former ages, who, amidst the darkness and tyranny of the times, dared to think for themselves and avow their sentiments, but that others might see that the doctrine of Universal Salvation is no new-fangled notion — the offspring of modern scepticism. So seriously was this want realized, that sixteen years ago, the General Convention, in session at Rockingham, Vt., appointed a Committee to prepare a History of Universalism. From year to year this Committee, which underwent some changes within the time, reported no progress, and the work seems at last entirely abandoned. It may be well, we think, that the History was not prepared at that time. In those days, the means of information as to the state of Universalism in former ages, were not so full as they now are, and, consequently, it may be doubted, whether a History prepared then, and under the circumstances of the Order as they then existed, would have been in all respects satisfactory. The time, however, has since arrived, and the proper persons for preparing the History have arisen. Too many thanks cannot be given to the Rev. Hosea Hallou 2d. and Rev. Thomas Whittemore, for having engaged in this desirable and arduous work. After years of laborious examination, a volume from each, the one embracing the Ancient, and the other the Modern History of Universalism, has been presented to our religious denomination and the public. Mr. Ballou's furnishes a history of our doctrine from the Apostolic age to the Era of the Reformation. Mr. Whittemore's from that period to the present day.

"The Modern History is written in a strong, but correct style; and for candor and impartiality could not be excelled."

An eminent gentleman of Portland, Me., wrote to the *Intelligencer* as follows, of the Modern History:—

"No preconceived notions are seen running through his pages, bending every event to suit themselves, as too commonly is the case with the productions of sectarian Historians. But every part, and almost every sentence, evinces a certain something, of matter or spirit, which convinces the reader, as he travels on, and without stopping him to argue the point, that our author has submitted everything advanced, to the test of truth. As a supporter of the denomination of Universalists, I am proud of the work. Every Universalist in the State — every one in the Nation, I should say — ought to be in possession of it. The very nature of the subject renders it somewhat more interesting than the "Ancient History" by Mr. Ballou; because all histories grow more

interesting, though written by the same author, as they approach our own age. Nevertheless, Mr. Ballou's work occupies a very essential place in the inquiries of the man who is bent on useful knowledge, touching the true religion of our Great Master in the works of benevolence. Mr. Ballou, no less than Mr. Whittemore, deserves richly the patronage and thanks of his fellows. Their works should go together on every man's shelf. They have in all things the natural alliance of the Siamese twins. At any rate, I hope all our Universalist friends in this region will now improve the means thus furnished them of becoming acquainted with the antiquity, rise, growth, and merits of the doctrine of glad tidings and great joy. They can satisfy themselves thus, and their opponents too, by consulting the two works named, that Universalism is not "a damnable heresy" of modern invention — the offspring of modern scepticism — but an embodied system of morals, and well grounded hopes of bliss in a future state, that has descended to us through nearly two thousand years, in despite of persecution, superstition, and the sinister machinations of Popes and Princes."

The editor of the *Religious Inquirer*, published at the time in Hartford, Conn., employed the following terms:—

"We can hardly find language to express the satisfaction we have derived from the perusal of this work; and, judging for ourselves, we should say, no Universalist, nor even any candid inquirer after truth, would suffer himself to be without it on any consideration, if he were possibly able to buy it. It embraces 460 duodecimo pages. It is written in a clear, chaste, and forcible style, marked with great candor and impartiality, and, like the Ancient History, free from all undue bias to promote the cause of Universalism at the expense of truth; being a plain narrative of transactions and events connected with the progress of the doctrine of the Restitution in the different countries of Europe, and in the United States, from the period at which it was left by the Ancient History, to the present time; including sketches of the eminent men who have publicly advocated the doctrine, and those who have opposed it, together with the various opinions on other points, which its adherents maintained, though agreeing in the main question, and the different arguments which they employed to defend it, as also the diversified measures which were resorted to, to resist its spread and promulgation."

The Rev. Stephen R. Smith, at that time, and for a long time afterwards, one of the principal Universalist clergymen in the State of New York, published the following notice of the work:—

"This work has been published since the commencement of the current year; and we are happy in the conviction that it is all the public had a right to expect. The materials have been collected with great care and industry — the facts are stated with candor — and the remarks and inferences are pertinent and proper.

* * * * * *

"Most of the facts in relation to Universalism in America, as they are of recent occurrence, will be more or less familiar to the believers in that doctrine — but this circumstance will by no means lessen their interest. They will feel themselves immediately interested in the scenes of suffering and reproach — not to say persecution, which too often marked the footsteps of the first propagators and professors of the doctrine of the Restitution; and they will look around with complacency upon a new order of things, which has resulted from its progress and permanent establishment.

"The great majority of Universalists are little acquainted with the fact, that in many parts of Europe, especially in England and Germany, there have been many fellow-believers at all times since the Reformation. And they will learn, with great satisfaction, from unquestionable sources, that not only some, but many of the great luminaries of the Church of England, as well as a very respectable number of very distinguished laymen, were the firm and fearless advocates of the salvation of all men. These and other facts should be more fully known, both to Universalists and their opposers; and they are now within the reach of all."

Plan of First Edition of the Modern History.

The point at which the work commenced was the epoch of the Reformation. It was divided into eleven chapters or books.

I. Chapter first was devoted to an account of the Anabaptists in Germany, who defended the doctrine of the final happiness of all men at that time.

II. Chapter second covered the principal part of the sixteenth century, and was devoted to the first gleamings of Universalism in England, after the beginning of the Reformation; and a brief history of that great event was given, showing how the principles avowed by Luther in Germany, and by Wickliffe, Cranmer, Coverdale, and others in England, led to the discovery and avowal of

Universalism. Special pains were taken to show the manner in which the early English Universalists were treated after the Protestants got into power, under the reign of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and afterwards under Mary and Elizabeth.

III. In chapter third, reaching from A.D., 1560, to 1700, the history of Universalism in England was continued. Elizabeth was succeeded by James I., and after him Charles I., who was dethroned and beheaded. Under Cromwell there was a general toleration. Jeremy White, one of his chaplains, was a Universalist; but there were severe contests between the different sects that arose, especially between the Presbyterians and Independents. The former, in their zeal to crush out all heresies, passed one of the most cruel statutes by Act of Parliament that ever disgraced any civilized country, some parts of which were directly aimed against the Universalists of that day and country.

IV. Chapter fourth, like the third, was a continuation of the history of Universalism in England, and traced the spread of that doctrine in that country from about the middle of the seventeenth century (1650) to the middle of the eighteenth (1750). Here we find the doctrine of endless misery doubted, or the doctrine of the final happiness of all men advanced by eminent scholars and divines, among whom may be named Dr. Henry More, Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Samuel Clark, Dr. George Cheyne, Chevalier Ramsay and others. Thus we see that the first chapter of the book treated of Universalism in Germany, where it first broke out at the time of the

Reformation, and which, therefore, ought to have taken precedence in point of time of all other matter in the volume. The history of Universalism in England commenced with the second chapter, and continued to the end of the fourth.

V. Here it seemed necessary to return to Universalism in Germany, the history of which was resumed at the beginning of the fifth chapter, and was finished, so far as we could then perfect it; and as we had there taken up the history on Continental Europe, we went on and finished it (so far as we could), by giving all the facts we then knew as to the spread of Universalism in Holland, Switzerland, France, Prussia, Italy, Ireland, Scotland, and thus ended the fifth chapter; and the history of Universalism in Europe was there finished, except in England, which had been left unconcluded at the end of the fourth chapter.

VI. Universalism in England reopened with the sixth chapter, in which the history was continued from about 1750 to nearly the time when the work was written. Here some of the best theologians and finest scholars of England were proved to have been Universalists. The editor of the *Analytical Review*, speaking of this era, said :—

"The doctrine of the final happiness of mankind, which presents the prospect of the termination of all evil, and of a period in which the deep shades of misery and guilt which have so long enveloped the universe, shall be forever dispelled, is so pleasing a speculation to a benevolent mind, that we do not wonder it meets with *so many* advocates. From the earliest period, we doubt not the belief of it has been secretly entertained by many, who, in the face of opposition and danger, had not resolution to avow it. Now, however, it has broke through *every* restraint, and walks abroad in *every* form that is adapted to convince the philosophic, to rouse the unthinking, and to melt the tender."

VII. After this the history of Universalists as a distinct sect in England commenced, which formed the subject of the seventh chapter. Here we gave accounts of Relly, Murray, Winchester, Vidler, Scarlett, Richard Wright, and others, whose names were connected very intimately with the history of Universalism in that country.

VIII. With chapter eighth commenced the history of Universalism in America. This is the opening of the matter on this side of the Atlantic. First of all was felt in this country the influence of the meek and pious German Anabaptists. They fled from persecution in the old world, and came, like the pilgrim fathers, to the wildernesses of America, in search of "freedom to worship God." Not only among them, but among the Episcopalians also, we found early traces of the doctrine of Universalism in the new country. It loomed up in the theological firmament like the aurora borealis. At length arose Adam Streeter, Caleb Rich, John Murray, and others; and the sect of the American Universalists became established.

IX. In chapter nine was brought up the history of American Universalism from the conversion of Elhanan Winchester to the formation of the General Convention in 1785.

X. This chapter contained an account of the rise of the General Convention of Universalists, which exercised a wide influence in its original form for nearly fifty years, and which was modified in 1833 into the present U. S. Convention of Universalists.

XI. This chapter (which was the last in the volume) contained sketches of the rise of Universalism in the

several States then in existence, with its condition and prospects in 1830; also an account of the changes of opinion which had taken place among Universalists, and the opinions that were prevalent among them at that date.

Such was the plan of the Modern History, in the first edition. In the new edition, there are a great number of new facts to come in, touching the history of Universalism in Continental Europe, the British Islands, and the United States.

The publication of the histories of Universalism gave an impulse to many persons to bring out additional facts that belonged to the general subject, and from time to time these were published in the Universalist periodicals. Among the Universalist clergy, who early took a very deep interest in aiding these researches, were Revs. Lucius R. Paige, Thomas J. Sawyer, D.D., A. C. Thomas, A. B. Grosh, T. B. Thayer, and others. Dr. Sawyer entered the Universalist ministry about the time the Modern History was published. He had been educated at the College in Middlebury, Vt., and was ordained at the General Convention, in Winchester, N. H., in September, 1829. From his earliest connection with our denomination, he has taken a great interest in perfecting the history of our faith. It was at his suggestion that the Universalist Historical Society was formed in the year 1834, during the meeting of the General Convention at Albany, N. Y. The object of this Society was to seek out and preserve all facts, books, papers, manuscripts, and, in a word, everything tending to throw light on the history of Universalism in the United States and the

world. It was determined the meetings should be holden annually at the same time and place with those of the Convention, and this practice was kept up for several years. Among the benefits of this Society was the establishment of the Universalist Historical Library, consisting of books on Universalism *pro et contra*, designed to furnish the facts for a full history.

Beneficial Effect of the Historical Society.

Of the beneficial effect of the Historical Society, and of the advance which had been made in the collection of a library, Dr. Sawyer spoke in the following terms in his Ninth Annual Report, made at the session in Baltimore, Md., in September, 1844 :—

" At the time this Society was instituted, the history of Universalism had but just begun to attract the attention of the denomination. The Ancient History of Universalism, by Rev. Hosea Ballou 2d. was published in 1828, [1829], and the Modern History, by Rev. Thomas Whittemore, in 1830. To these brethren undoubtedly belongs the honor of having first excited an interest in the history of our distinctive doctrine. Of their labors it is difficult to speak in terms of two high praise. Their works are certainly volumes of rare merit. For patient industry and research, for extent and accuracy of information, for general interest and value, they stand among the best works that have issued from the Universalist press in this country.

" In the department of ancient history, nothing worthy of notice has been done since the publication of Mr. Ballou's excellent work; nor should I err, perhaps, were I to say that little is to be soon expected, unless he should be pleased to renew his labors, and perfect what he has already so well done. The field, you know, lies beyond the reading of most of our brethren, requires a peculiar cultivation in him who attempts to cultivate it, and, whatever may be one's taste for such studies, can hardly be expected to bring one any pecuniary recompense for his labors Besides, the authentic sources of information, owing to the scarcity and high price of the writings of the Fathers, so called, are quite inaccessible to all except such as chance to reside in the immediate neighborhood of large libraries. From the well known and characteristic patience and thoroughness of Mr. Ballou, he who follows him in whatever department of literary labor, follows only as a gleaner; the harvest has been gathered before him. There is an unpromising period, however, lying

between the final condemnation of Universalism, A.D. 553, and the commencement of the Reformation by Martin Luther, which is passed over very cursorily by Mr. Ballou, in a brief Appendix, and which I cannot but hope may yet furnish more ample materials for our history; though we must all be satisfied that the dark ages were little suited, in any single respect, to foster either the abstract truth, or the spirit of Universalism.

"Great praise is due to Mr. Whittemore, also, for the manner in which he executed his task in the preparation of the Modern History of Universalism. Though from the nature of the case, it is less complete than the Ancient History, or perhaps, I should say, its defects are more easily discovered, it is still a noble monument of its author's industry and research. In this department of our history, the sources of information were much more numerous, and lay scattered more widely. It could not be expected, therefore, that they should all be gathered up. When I consider the time when it was written, and the very little attention that had then been paid to the subject, I cannot but regard the Modern History as remarkable for the variety and general accuracy of its information; and I am frank to confess that I am more and more astonished at its merits, as I am better and better qualified to judge of its value, and to appreciate the labor and difficulty of its preparation.

"But notwithstanding the excellence of these histories of Universalism, there were considerations of utility, if not of necessity, sufficient to justify the organization of the Historical Society. Though every thing had been done in the past that was capable of being done, still there was enough in the field of history to engage our attention and reward our industry. There was a useful and needed work to be performed in getting up and carefully preserving the original sources of our current history. For insignificant as the denomination of Universalists may now appear in the eyes of the world, it is not to be doubted that the time is coming when it will occupy in this country, and throughout all Christendom, a much more commanding position, and men will ask for the beginning of what they shall then see, and love to read the story of our present struggles and victories. It was also an object of no small importance in the organization of this Society to open a correspondence with brethren of like precious faith, and others who sympathized with us, in different parts of the Christian world, and thus encourage our own hearts, and quicken our zeal amidst the opposition, difficulties, and trials, which we are destined to meet in the good work before us.

"If it be now asked what progress the Society has made towards the attainment of its aims and objects, I shall answer that it has opened a correspondence with the Universalists and Unitarians of Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, and with the Lutherans of Germany, who entertain the faith and hope of universal salvation. It has widened materially our acquaintance with the history of Universalism in all these countries,

especially in Germany, that cradle of the Reformation, that land of theological literature and science. It has also gathered up scattered notices of Universalism in France, Switzerland, Sweden, and Russia.

"But the greater part of our labors has been directed to the collection of a library, which shall contain all the materials for a complete history of our faith. In this field it has succeeded quite as well as, under the circumstances, could have been anticipated. Few of the members of the Society have taken any active interest in it, or in any way accelerated its progress. Few even of our corresponding secretaries in the United States, have ever contributed in any manner to the interests of the Society. The Rev. Mr. Thom, of Liverpool, one of our corresponding secretaries for England, has, in this respect, done more than all those in the United States put together. In forwarding books, and in communicating all the information in his power of the condition of Universalism in Great Britain, his services have been invaluable, and are mentioned with the warmest gratitude. Had all our corresponding secretaries manifested an equal zeal, it is impossible to say to what state the interests of the Society might have now been advanced. To several of our publishers and individual brethren and friends, we are indebted for a uniform kindness and consideration, which have contributed materially to the Society's welfare, and especially to its library, about 200 volumes of which have been the fruit of their generosity. The whole amount of money received and expended for books, and binding books, will probably amount to about $380 00 and with this small sum, so economical have been our operations, that over 400 volumes have been purchased, and far the greater part of them imported from England, France, and Germany, and nearly a hundred volumes bound at the Society's expense for their better preservation. The whole number of volumes now in the Library is nearly 600; and I hazard nothing in saying that, as a Universalist Library, it has no rival in this country or the world. Still it is very incomplete. If we except the New Testament, the works of the Apostolic Fathers, and sixteen volumes of a beautiful edition of the works of Origen, now in course of publication at Leipsic, we have literally nothing belonging to the ancient history of Universalism. And yet I need not say that the works of many of the ancient Fathers are a *desideratum* in our Library. The scantiness of our funds, and the expense of good editions of this kind of works, has forbidden the purchase of any of them, except those just named. I would now suggest, however, whether some method might not be adopted by which whatever belongs to this department of the history of Universalism, may be soon placed in the Society's Library. If the members would contribute annually, but a single dollar each, for this noble purpose, it would soon accomplish all that is essential, if not indeed all that is desirable in this department. Perhaps some of our more able friends will follow the example of a zealous Universalist in New York, who has generously offered the sum of twenty-five dollars for purchasing any work of that

value, which he may have the honor of presenting to the Society. If a few gentlemen would subscribe a like, or a much inferior sum, to be disposed of in like manner, they would enjoy the consciousness of contributing largely to the objects of the Society, and, at the same time, perpetuate their names among those of its most munificent donors.

"In the department of modern history is found, at the present time, our whole Library; and though very far from being complete here, it is still enriched by many rare and valuable works, besides embracing almost all more commonly met with. Among those distinguished by their age and other circumstances, I must be permitted to mention the works of those early English Universalists, Gerard Winstanley, William Erbury, and Richard Coppin, which I now congratulate the Society on possessing. These worthies were all contemporary, and flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century. Winstanley's works were published in 1648, Coppin's in 1656, and Erbury's in 1658. Jeremy White, the well known author of "The Restitution of All Things," and Dr. Rust, Bishop of Dromore, lived at the same time, though their writings date somewhat later; Rust's "Letter of Resolution concerning Origen and the chief of his Opinions" having been published 1661, and the "Restitution of All Things" not till after White's death in 1707. These are, undoubtedly, the earliest works of any importance in favor of Universalism in England. Of such as have appeared at a more recent date we have a respectable share, but our list of known books, in which the doctrine of Universalism is advanced, is by no means complete, and almost every new volume makes us acquainted with some other of which we had before been ignorant. Already we have added considerably to the list of Universalist authors named by Mr. Whittemore, and I doubt not that many are still unknown.

In the department of German Universalism a very good beginning has been made, and we have the works of Petersen, [2 vols. fol. the 3d is wanting,] Basedow, Stienbart, Gruner, Doederlin, Reinhard, Nemeyer, Jung Stilling, Von Coelin, Von Ammon, Tholuck, Credner, &c. &c., which are sufficient to give us a very tolerable view of Germau Universalism, both Evangelical and Rationalists. Still I must say that we are yet destitute of a multitude of German works relating to Universalism; indeed, volumes enough respecting the salvation of all men, on one side or the other, have appeared in that country since the Reformation, to make a very respectable library.

In what Sense I use the word Universalist.

Throughout this work I shall use the word "Universalist" in the same sense in which it has always been used in this country, since John Murray landed on the shores of New Jersey, viz.: to signify a person who believes in the event-

ual holiness and happiness of all the human race, whatever may have been his opinion on minor topics. He may have been a believer in the unity, or trinity of the Godhead; he may have believed, like Elhanan Winchester, in a very long disciplinary punishment beyond the grave, all intended for good; or he may have held with Hosea Ballou, that "the Scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood, and that beyond this mortal existence the Bible teaches no other sentient state, but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality;" or he may have held any view on any minor topic; but if he believed in the final salvation of all men, in God's time and God's way, he will be considered under our rule a Universalist. I shall not claim any man as a Universalist who did not mean to be understood as advocating the final holiness and happiness of all men. Others may be mentioned, but they will not be ranked as Universalists. I do not mean that all whom I shall mention in this work as Universalists, called themselves by that name. I am quite sure that some of them never thought of doing so. In fact, some of them perhaps, never heard the name used as designating a body of Christians. My effort will be to write the history, not merely of the distinct people called Universalists, but also of the great doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men; and many men who never bore the name Universalist, believed that doctrine. Some of the greatest luminaries of the Christian Church have believed it. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, is thought to have undermined the doctrine of endless misery; Dr. Thomas Burnet, certainly defended Universalism; Wm. Whiston, Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Samuel Clarke, expressed their

doubts as to the truth of the opposite doctrine ; Dr. George Cheyne embraced Universalism, as did the Chevalier Ramsay. Many eminent men in Germany, both among the Rationalists and Evangelicals, adopted it; Episcopius, in Holland, early threw doubts upon the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment, as did also the learned and well known John Le Clerc. In fact, there is scarcely a country in Europe, in which the doctrine of final universal happiness has not been received more or less, by men who were bright and shining lights in their day But it will be our duty to trace the doctrine not only among the great, the learned, the eminent, we must show also how it prevailed among those who were more humble, but not the less honest, or pious in their researches after divine truth, or in their efforts to spread the knowledge of Christianity among mankind. "Christianity" (said one of the English reviewers,) "is a religion for the masses, and we demur to a professed history of Christianity which leaves its effects upon *the masses* untold. We would learn how, in other times and among other people, the religion with whose ordinary effects among ourselves we are conversant, has been received, and has operated among the community at large. We would know what it has done for the peasant in his cottage, for the artificer at his loom, for the matron amid her children, as well as what it has achieved or suffered in palaces, cathedrals and colleges. We would gaze on the stream as it steals through the green fields and by the happy homes of poor men, as well as when it dashes down the rocky fall, or expands in artificial beauty in the lordly park. We would, in short, have the historian of Christ's religion to remember, that it is part of his proper province to chronicle

the effects and manifestations of that religion, not only among the few noble and mighty and wise by whom it is embraced, but as they appear in those retired scenes of domestic life where Christ himself delighted to be, and amongst that class of the community who, in the days of his flesh, were the first and readiest to 'hear him gladly.'"

MODERN HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM.

THE

MODERN HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM.

BOOK I.

THE REFORMATION: RISE, CONDEMNATION AND DISPERSION OF THE ANABAPTISTS IN GERMANY.

[From A. D. 1500 to 1550.]

History of Universalism divides at the Reformation; Influence of Luther; A retrospective view of noble spirits; Corruptions of the Catholic church; How the event of the Reformation is connected with the history of Universalism; Causes that led to the Reformation; Principles on which the Reformation was founded; Luther somewhat doubtful on the doctrine of endless punishment; These principles gave rise to many new Sects; Some account of these Sects; Rise of the Anabaptists; Universalism prevailed among them; Denkius, Hetzer, and Pannonius; Condemnation of the Anabaptists; Sect of the Liberals; Account of David George; Excitement against the Anabaptists; They suffered not solely for believing in Universalism.

DIVISION OF HISTORY INTO ANCIENT AND MODERN.

I. The history of Universalism is divided, for convenience of arrangement, into the Ancient and Modern. That doctrine had been defended by some of the most eminent of the Christian fathers. It was not regarded as a heresy in the Church, until nearly four hundred years after the death of Christ, nor was it formally condemned by the highest ecclesiastical authority until the meeting of the Fifth Gen-

eral Council, A. D., 553.[1] During the dark ages we catch occasional glimpses of it amid the general gloom; but at the Reformation it began to glow again, and from that time has shined with a steadily increasing light. The Ancient History treats of the progress of the doctrine from the days of the Apostles, to the Reformation; the Modern from that epoch onward to our time.

THE REFORMATION AND THE RETROSPECT.

II. Let us suppose ourselves living at the Reformation, and take our stand at some prominent point in Germany. We hear the voice of Luther ringing on the air, "down with indulgencies; an end to all clerical frauds and usurpations; freedom to think; freedom to investigate; freedom to speak; freedom to worship God!" We see the great body of the people moved by the boldness and the opinions of the Reformer. He sets the power of the Pope at defiance; he burns the pontifical decree declaring it to be the execrable bull of antichrist. No wonder that new opinions sprung up every where, some of them wild and extravagant, and such as the leading reformers themselves could not approve; some of them founded in truth, and in a proper interpretation of the word of God. The Catholic church had controlled the expression of opinion for ages. The fire of truth had been smothered, but not extinguished. The embers were living, and needed but free air to cause them to glow and burn with new ardor. If we look back into the ages, we see the doctrine of the restoration of all things condemned by the Fifth General Council; and then,

[1] The following was the decree, "Whoever says, or thinks, that the torments of the demons and of impious men are temporal, so that they will, at length, come to an end, or whoever holds a restoration either of the demons or of the impious, let him be anathema. Anathema to Origen Adamantius, who taught these things among his detestable and accursed dogmas; and to every one who believes these things, or asserts them, or who shall ever dare to defend them in any part, let there be anathema: In Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen." Ancient Hist. of Universalism, 2d Ed. p. 288.

as if it was difficult to extinguish a sentiment so reasonable, so glorious, we see it condemned through successive Councils for three or four hundred years. "Whoever says, or thinks, that the torments of the demons and of impious men are temporal, so that they will at length come to an end, or whoever holds a restoration, either of the demons or the impious, let him be anathema. Anathema to Origen Adamantius who taught these things among his detestable and accursed dogmas, and to every one who believes these things and reports them."

But this decree could not kill out the truth. If it kept it shut up in men's hearts, it only made the heat thereof the greater. We see the descendants of the ancient Paulicians cherishing many opinions contrary to the doctrines of the Catholic church, and opening the doors of heaven to many, who by the Pope and the Councils were ruled out of the pale of grace. The Catholic church differed from the rest of Christendom, in severity, in restricting the number of the saved to a few, and in sentencing all who differed from her faith to the wrath of God forever. We see there were noble men, in different ages, stars of the first magnitude, among the constellations of free spirits who could not heartily receive the dogmas of the Church. In the fifth century, among the clergy of France, Cassian, Abbot of Marseilles, taught the doctrine, that while human nature is corrupt, and needs divine grace to renew and make it holy, yet all without exception will eventually receive that grace, and be saved by its purifying power."[1] We see Clement, a native of Ireland, in the eighth century, denouncing the decree of reprobation to endless death and affirming that all the damned may be saved.[2] We see J. Scotus Erigena, one of the most learned of the ninth century, declaring the end of the punishment of the damned and the

[1]Lives of the Popes, by the American Sunday School Union, part i, p 50.
[2]Ancient History of Universalism, p. 292.

final restoration of all fallen creatures.[1] During the ninth and tenth centuries, almost total darkness in divine things settled down upon Christendom. Christ had been so little known, loved, and obeyed among the people, it might have been doubted whether there was any Christian church; the clergy were corrupt; the Scriptures were shut up from the people; great ignorance prevailed every where; religion was supposed to consist in worshipping saints and images; and benevolence to the poor and afflicted was little known. Still we see descendants of the ancient sects called heretical, cherishing vestiges of divine truth, and bearing in their bosoms the principles of the Reformation. We see one Raynold, who presided over the monastery of St. Martin, in France, declaring that all men will eventually be saved.[2] We see Amalric or Amauri, an eminent professor of logic and theology at Paris, declaring that all creatures will in the end, return to God, and be converted unto him, and that God, as St. Paul affirmed, would be all in all.[3] In the thirteenth century, we see, far off among the Eastern Christians, Salomon, metropolitan bishop of Bassorah, inquiring whether the demons and sinners who are now in hell, shall at length obtain mercy, after having suffered their appointed punishment, and been purified.[4] We see the sect of the Lollards spread through Germany in the fourteenth century, who denied the ceremonies of the Catholic church, denounced her exclusiveness and maintained that the damned, and even the evil angels should one day be saved.[5] We see old Tauler of Strasburg, a Dominican Monk, of whom our own Whittier hath written with poetic fire, declaring that all creatures exist in their being through the same birth of the Son, and therefore shall they all come again to their original, that is God the Father, through the same his eternal Son;[6] and we see several others of this

[1] Ancient History of Universalism, pp. 293 294. [2] Idem, p. 301.
[3] Idem, p. 303. [4] Idem, p. 304 [5] Idem, pp. 305 306.
[6] Rev. Dr. Sawyer in the Ambassador.

class. The opinions of the men we have named influenced many others. Well might Dr. Sawyer say, notwithstanding the malediction of the Catholic church, and the danger of fire and faggot with which she threatened all who dared to receive so heretical a doctrine, there were still some we know who espoused this blessed faith, and found joy in it. And when the long night of the dark ages was passing away, and a brighter day was beginning to dawn on the world, there were many, we have reason to believe, who again clearly recognized this great central truth, and held it forth as one of the crowning glories of the moral economy of God. During the century or two previous to the time of Luther, there was a noble band of noble men, who, while in various ways they opposed the Pope and his unhallowed pretensions, consecrated their powers and their lives to the promulgation of higher spiritual truth than the Church at large recognized. They adhered more closely to the Bible, and its divine light and were given to see what others saw not.

REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

III. These men have been properly called Reformers before the Reformation.[1] They were pioneers in that great moral movement, and although little known, they deserve the admiration and the gratitude of the world. Among these stood conspicuous the German Mystics, so called, and the Brethren of the Common or Familiar life. Some of these men spoke as strongly and as boldly in favor of the Holy Scriptures, and against the usurpations of the Pope and the corruptions of the Church, as ever did Luther or Zwingle. 'I despise the Pope,' said the noble John Wessel, in a sermon at Worms, nearly a century before the

[1]See the work "Reformers before the Reformation. The fifteenth Century. John Huss and the Council of Constance, By Emile de Bonnechose, librarian of the king of France. Translated from the French by Campbell Mackenzie, B. A. New York, Harper & Brothers.

Reformation, 'I despise the Pope, and the Church, and the Councils, and I *praise Christ.* May the word of Christ dwell in us richly!' It is well known how industriously Luther studied the 'German Theology,' as it is called, of John Tauler, and how much instruction he derived from it. Spener does not hesitate to say that it was from this work and the other writings of Tauler,' next to the Holy Scriptures, that our beloved Luther became what he was. Indeed, Luther himself tells us that beside the Bible and St. Augustine, he had met no book from which he had learned more 'what God, Christ, man and all things are.' And speaking of John Wessel, another of these worthies, the great Reformer says, 'Had I read Wessel before, my opposers might have said that Luther had taken every thing from Wessel, so entirely do our opinions agree.'"[1]

Dr. Sawyer further says, in the sermon referred to:— "There is no doubt that a considerable school of Universalists existed during the century previous to the Reformation, and who contributed powerfully in various ways to that important event. They were men in advance of their age, men with broad, Christian views and withal possessed of a rare piety and moral worth. The existence of these men helps us to explain the otherwise remarkable fact, that Universalism appeared when we should have little expected it, in the very dawn of the Reformation."

CORRUPTION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

IV. At the Reformation the throne was shaken on which the Pope swayed his sceptre over the Christian world, and the power dared which he had long exercised without resistance. From small beginnings, by effrontery, assiduity and art, he had gained that height of grandeur and power, at which not only the churches and clergy, but laymen and

[1]Dr. T. J. Sawyer, in his sermon at Middletown, Ct., before the General Convention of Universalists, September, 1855.

the highest civil rulers trembled. The Court of Rome had always used its power, in promoting the objects of its unrivalled ambition, in suppressing heresies, and in visiting with the full weight of its displeasure those who undertook the hopeless and perilous task of opposing its measures. But it pursued so long and zealously its oppressive and wicked course, that the evil wrought its own cure. The avarice of the Court, its thirst for dominion, its recklessness of right and propriety, led to the pursuit of such objects, and the employment of such means as, at last, awoke a part of the Christian world to see its wide departure from justice and truth, its ambition, its arrogance, and its presumption.

REFORMATION CONNECTED WITH HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM.

V. The event of the Reformation is connected with the History of Universalism, inasmuch as it was the means of setting the human mind at liberty, of encouraging the love of truth and free inquiry, and thereby of bringing many to believe in the eventual salvation of the whole world. It taught men that they possessed the right of private judgment, and exhorted them most earnestly to exercise it. It pointed out the fallibility of the Pope and the Church, exposed their errors and contradictions, and destroyed in many minds, the reverence which had been long entertained for their decisions. It gave to the people the Bible, which, by authority, they had been forbidden to use; and having translated it into the vernacular tongues of many nations, it encouraged men to study it in consideration of their duty, their happiness, and their salvation. These advantages, and this advice, seconded by the desires and the rising zeal of the people, gave a new face to religion in Europe. With the authority of the Catholic church, the Reformers renounced also many of her doctrinal errors. New commu-

nities of Christians arose, distinct from her in their doctrine and discipline.[1]

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REFORMATION.

VI. Although the honor of beginning the Reformation has been conferred on Martin Luther, yet it should not be forgotten, that before the birth of that eminent Reformer there were various causes tending to produce such an event which afterward greatly accelerated its advancement.

The influence of the Papal authority was impaired in the fifteenth century by the three contending Pontiffs, who each laid claim to the right of governing the Church. Roaming about Europe, they fawned on the princes whom they wished to gain to their interest; extorted large sums of money from the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicated their rivals, and fulminated curses on all who adhered to those rivals. By such measures their pretensions to infallibility were brought into discredit; and the laity saw, in some measure, the necessity of exercising the right of private judgment. The councils of Constance and Basil, notwithstanding the former brought John Huss to the stake, had set bounds to the power of the Pope.[2] The former declared that the Pontiff was inferior, and subject to the decrees of a general assembly of the Church; the latter, after confirming this resolution of its sister council, carried the work of reformation still further, and gave offence to the Pope, against whom they passed sentence for attempting to dissolve them.[3] The profligate manners of the Popes diminished their authority in the minds of reflecting men. In private

[1] Bishop Burnet says, "Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building on some of his principles, carried things much farther than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians.—*History of the Reformation.*

[2] Robertson's Charles V.

[3] Mosheim's Church History, Cen. xv. p. ii.

life dissolute and abandoned; urged to public acts by a boundless ambition and avarice, many obeyed their mandates more through a dread of their power, than a conviction of their right to rule. But men were not wanting even at that time who exposed the vices of the Pontiff under the protection of those political rulers with whom he was engaged in hostilities. The vices now named were not confined to the head of the church, but might be traced through all orders of the clergy. Great wealth, idleness, gross ignorance and celibacy, were the fruitful sources of their wickedness. Increased scandal was brought upon the Church by the facility with which she remitted offences. She sold pardons at stipulated prices, and bestowed them more freely on the clergy than on any other class, a circumstance for which it can be plead that they stood in greater need of them. Degeneracy of manners was not their only fault. They encroached on the rights of every other order of men. The sacredness of their clerical character was used as a shield against the punishments which such atrocious practices merited. It was represented as impious to try by the same laws the holy priesthood and the profane laity; and the right of the clergy to be exempted from civil jurisdiction was asserted by Popes and Councils, and confirmed by many political rulers. It is true the civil arm could punish the offender after he was degraded from the sacred office; but as the power of degradation lay solely in the spiritual courts, absolute impunity was often secured to them. All these evils, with many others that might be added to them, existed in the Church, and weakened the confidence of the people in their spiritual guides. By these abuses the people were prepared the more readily to receive the Reformation which Luther proposed.

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE REFORMATION WAS FOUNDED.

VII. The Reformation was sustained on the true Protestant principles of the right of private judgment, and the authority of reason and the word of God as superior to that of Popes, councils or canons. Luther was early convinced that the Scriptures were the proper rule of faith and practice; and that every man had the right of judging for himself concerning their true sense. His preaching was principally directed against the errors and vices of the Pope and the Catholic Church. He held to the utter inefficacy of human works as a means of salvation, and to the decree of God in the condemnation of the sinner. Opposing particularly the papal notion of releasing souls from purgatory, he appeared to assert with the more vehemence the endless duration of the pains of hell. It was not so much the mere fact of delivering souls from purgatory, that he objected to in the deep recesses of his soul, as to the use which the Pope and his clergy made of that doctrine. At times Luther seems to have had doubts whether the pains of hell would be endless; but to deliver men from purgation, he held, was the prerogative of God, and not of any power on earth.[1] Several of the Reformers differed

[1] Rev. T. J. Sawyer has shown that Luther was not so decided a friend of endless punishment as he is supposed to have been. Dr. S. says: "Even Luther himself was by no means so ardent a friend of endless punishment as he is generally supposed to have been. It is the remark of J. Otto Thiess, a German writer of reputation, and impartiality, that 'Martin Luther has not expressed his views so plainly in his writings, on the eternity of hell punishments, as one would suppose from the language of the Lutheran dogmatists. He has even been reckoned among the friends and advocates of a mild evangelical doctrine.' Among other things he says, 'Hell is nothing but an evil conscience. If the Devil had not an evil conscience, he would be in heaven'—an opinion in which Luther followed Origen.' I have an extract from Luther's works now before me, in which he says, 'How it may be with those who in the New Testament, are condemned, I can say nothing certain. I leave it undecided. But of the godly it is certain that they live and enter into peace.' The connection might perhaps essentially modify the import of this passage, but as it here stands, it certainly does not greatly favor the most rigid doctrines of Orthodoxy.

But the most remarkable expression of his opinions occurs in a letter written to a nobleman, Hansen Von Rechenburg, in 1522, in which he acknowledges that therewere those among them, who thought it quite too

widely from him in subjects of doctrine, but none perhaps more than Zuinglius, the eminent Swiss. While Luther confined salvation to those who, by the saving grace of Christ, were brought to the knowledge of divine truth, Zuinglius extended it to the good and benevolent of every

rigid and severe, and inconsistent with the divine goodness, for God to cast away men as he is represented doing, and thus to have made them for endless torments. He evidently rested the tremendous doctrine of never ending punishment upon mere verbal interpretation, and regarded it as the greatest achievement of Christian faith to believe that God is the highest Goodness, and the highest Justice in this very case where he acts in a manner to contradict our conceptions of both, And it is a curious fact, and worthy of particular notice, that Luther thought the doctrine of endless punishment quite unfit, and even dangerous, to urge upon those weak in the faith, lest their feelings should be outraged, and their minds turned to opposition and hatred against God. 'Nature and reason cannot bear it,' says he, 'it is too terrible for them; the weak believer also cannot bear it, it offends him too much.' Hence he advises his noble friend to be careful with whom he discusses this subject; for there are those, thoughtful, intelligent people, with whom he should shun it, while there are others, simple, spiritual, experimental people, with whom he could treat of no subject more profitably.

When he comes to answer the question proposed in his letter, Luther says, we have many strong passages to prove that without faith no one can be saved, and having quoted them, he goes on to say, that there is another question, viz. *Whether God can give faith in or after death, and thus save them through faith?* 'Who will doubt, he asks, that God can do this? But that he will, we cannot prove.' And the conclusion to which he finally comes — a conclusion in which most people will agree with him, I think — is this, that 'God does in this matter what he does; he either gives faith or he gives it not; still without faith there is no salvation.'

"Through the whole letter, Luther speaks as if he received the doctrine of endless punishment quite unwillingly, but was forced to it by the express words of Scripture; and no one can fail to see, that he neither attempted any rational explanation of it, nor even asserted it in bold and decisive terms. His demonstrable conclusion that *God does in the case what He does; He gives faith or He gives it not*, is obviously ambiguous, and may be applied to either side of the question. No American divine of the present day, who is ambitious of being called Orthodox, would write such a letter, or venture to express himself so moderately as Luther does here. Calvin would have decided the matter in a single paragraph, and in a way, too, that would have been at least intelligible."

Those who wish to see this subject more fully discussed, are referred to an article in the Universalist Quarterly, Vol. vii. pp. 356—363, by Rev. T. J. Sawyer. Dr. Sawyer shows, that this letter bears unquestionable testimony to the existence of Universalists and Universalism at that early day, A.D. 1522. It is certain that Universalism held its place in the early times of Luther, and commanded no little attention and respect. It would seem that the great Reformer did not hold the doctrine of endless pain with full confidence. He thought if taught at all, it should be done with great discretion.

age and nation, how wrong soever they might be in their speculative opinions, One Catholic writer has accused him of having believed in the salvation of all mankind, a charge which does not admit of proof.[1]

It is with the principles on which the Reformation was established, rather than with the mere opinions of the Reformers, that we are now concerned. To doubt the decisions of the Pope had been a crime. It was but a common place virtue, to submit one's authority to that of canons, and the Fathers. As the strong support of Papal power, it was these impressions that the Reformers attacked with the greatest vigor. By the most earnest appeals, the people were exhorted to assert and make use of the right of reading and judging for themselves. The long neglected volume of the sacred Scriptures was placed in their hands, translated into their own tongue. The ardor with which they would conform to this entreaty may be imagined, but it cannot be described.

THOSE PRINCIPLES GAVE RISE TO MANY NEW SECTS.

VIII. One of the direct and inevitable consequences of the principles for which the Reformers contended, was the introduction of new opinions, and the multiplication and

[1] The following is the passage to which we refer: "Zuingle qui avait professe la meme doctrine (i. e. the doctrine of the Universalists) fut refute par Osiander, Lyserus, et d'autres theologiens Protestans." Histoire des Sectes Religieuses, par M. Gregoire. Tome Premier, p. 78.

In the abstract of his doctrine which Zuinglius presented to Francis I. he said, "I cannot believe that God will involve in the same condemnation, him who shuts his eyes to the light, and him who unavoidably lives in darkness. I cannot believe that the Lord will cast away from him nations whose only crime it is never to have heard of the gospel. No, let us abjure the rashness of setting bounds to the divine mercy. I am persuaded that in the heavenly assemblage of all the creatures admitted to contemplate the glory of the Most High, we shall see not only the holy men of the Old and New Covenant, but also Socrates, Aristides, Camillus and Cato; in a word I am persuaded that all good men who have fulfilled the laws engraven on their consciences, whatever were the age or country in which they lived, will enter into eternal felicity." Life of Zuinglius by J. G. Hess. See also Milner's Church Hist. Cent. xvi. Chap. 16, who refers to Zuinglii Opera, ii. 559. To these authorities I may add Moshiem's Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. Part ii. chap. ii. 7.

diversity of sects. The leaders of the Reformation seem not fully to have considered, that the principles of reform which they had set up, brought into discredit not only the authority of the Pontiff, but also all mere human authority in matters of religion. They had no good reason to suppose that they could control the strong current of popular feeling which they had put into motion. Like some mighty rush of waters to the level of the sea, it broke over every restraint, and bore away every obstacle. They who had been encouraged to become heretics in the eye of the Pope, by denying his authority, would not hesitate to become heretics, in the eyes of the Reformers by discarding their opinions. Thus, when the principles of the Reformation spread throughout Germany, [1520] there arose a number of different sects, some distinguished by one article of faith and some by another. There is a great variety in the conditions of the human mind; and men, in the free exercise of their powers of judgment, always have arrived at different results. So far from having been chagrined and disappointed, the Reformers ought not to have been surprised at the rapid increase of sects, and wide diversity of opinions that succeeded to their labors.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THESE SECTS.

IX. It is impossible in this day, and in this country, to give a full account of the sects which arose in Germany and quickly spread into the neighboring countries, at the epoch of the Reformation. Their particular histories, whether written by friends or enemies, possessed rather a local interest, and were not considered by succeeding generations as worthy of transmission to posterity. What we learn of them is amalgamated, in the most of cases, with the general history of the Church, or that of the Reformation; and those traits of their character and faith about which their enemies were the most vehement, are such as have thereby been preserved from oblivion.

It is highly probable that these sects had a remote descent from the ancient Paulicians, who, after suffering various and grievous persecutions and frequent reverses of fortune, spread through Europe, bearing, in different places the names of Waldenses, Albanenses, Albigenses, Piphles, Cathari, &c.[1] Their principles bore a close resemblance to those of the more ancient Manichæans; and some of them, at least, held to the eventual destruction of evil and misery, denying perhaps altogether, as some authors have asserted, the doctrine of future punishment, and affirming "that the general judgment was past, and that hell torments were no other than the evils we feel and suffer in this life."[2] Long opposed and grievously persecuted by the Catholics, the event of the Reformation, patronized as it was by civil power in Germany, England and other places, called these sects from seclusion, gave them courage, and fostered their innate zeal to diffuse their sentiments.[3]

RISE OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

X. The most prominent of these sects which arose in Germany, if indeed they are not all to be comprehended

[1] Hist. of England, by Sharon Turner, ii. 381, 382.

[2] See the popular Theological Dictionary by Buck, art. Albanenses, and Gabrielis Prateoli Marcossii Vita Hæreticorum. By the general judgment being passed, (a heresy charged upon the sects referred to,) perhaps all they meant was this: that the events were passed, described by Christ and his apostles in those parts of the New Testament *usually but not justly applied* to a future judgment. Were this their meaning, it is a point on which many persons of the present day resemble them. An article on the Cathari or Albigenses, from the pen of Dr. H. Ballou 2d. may be found in the Universalist Quarterly, vol. vii. 363–393.

[3] Mosheim says, "Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the doctrine which the Waldenses, Wickliffites and Hussites had maintained. The drooping spirits of these people, who had been persecuted every where with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had attempted with success the reformation of the Church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom; and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colors." Eccle. Hist. Cent. xvi. Sec. iii. Part ii. 2 and 3. and Benedict's History of the Baptists, Boston 1813, vol. i. 138.

under one name, were the Anabaptists, who appeared suddenly, and spread with amazing rapidity throughout Germany and the neighboring countries. Thus it is a little remarkable, that we should find the first traces of Universalism after the Reformation, among the early predecessors of the respectable class of Christians now called Baptists. The rise of the Anabaptists was marked by many disorders, which have unjustly cast a stigma upon the whole people who bore that name, and brought into disrepute many men of the most peaceable dispositions, and exemplary lives. The war of the peasants which had broken out in some provinces of the German Empire, had been produced, at first, by the abject servitude to which this part of the community had been reduced. When to the excessive rigor of the feudal institutions there came to be added the enormous taxes which the progress in elegance and luxury, and the changes in the art of war had called for, the accumulated load of burden drove this people to despair. Animated by the example of the Swiss, who had been relieved by revolt from similar evils, they, in the year 1526, ran to arms in the most frantic rage. These commotions soon reached that part of Germany in which Luther had propagated his opinions, and they found a congenial principle in that bold and innovating spirit, which, having given rise to the Reformation, was nourished and strengthened by its progress.

As we have already stated, the principles for which the Reformers contended, and which they pressed upon the attention of the people, more particularly a treatise by Luther, *de libertate christiana*, had given men a disposition to throw off all restraint upon the freedom of the mind. They very soon learned to apply their maxims concerning religion to the principles of civil government, and came to look on civil rulers with the same jealous eye with which they viewed the aspiring ecclesiastics. When the flame which the peasants had kindled reached that which was

burning wherever the opinions of Luther prevailed, the combined element raged with tenfold violence. The authority of civil rulers, in the view of vast numbers of the populace, was then no more to be tolerated than that of the Pope. All was equally usurpation. It was held that, the Christian owed allegiance to no man: he was the servant of Christ alone; and as such he was amenable to no laws but those of his Master's kingdom. In Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, male nor female; in him there are no distinctions; all men are equal; they should therefore, have things in common; they should live together like brethren, subject to none but spiritual laws. On this ground some who had been aroused by Luther's sentiments in favor of Christian liberty, attempted to set up what they called the kingdom of Christ upon the earth, by the subversion of all civil authority whatsoever. After several reverses, they unexpectedly seized, in 1533, the city of Munster, in Westphalia, where they set about to establish divine authority. They drove out the civil rulers, and all the inhabitants who would not submit to that authority; and strange to tell, they kept possession of this city during sixteen months. Overcome at last, many of their number suffered death. Whether, while the so-called divine authority was exercised, all those crimes were committed which historians have laid to the charge of these infuriated enthusiasts, may justly be doubted; for it is a fact to which the most respectable historians bear testimony, that the factious and riotous proceedings at Munster were highly disapproved by many of the Anabaptists. Among those thus denominated were men of high character and reputation, distinguished by their solid learning, their rational piety, and enlightened zeal for divine truth.[1] In the general rage which the disturbances in Westphalia had excited, an indiscriminate

[1] Hist. Introduction to Rec's Racov. Cat.

censure was passed upon all the Anabaptist sects.[1] Aspiring after a knowledge of the truth, some ventured, as they had a right, to dissent from the doctrines of the principal Reformers; but others, rebelled against the government under which they lived, and were actually seditious. Historians have not been sufficiently careful to distinguish between these two classes. Had it not been for the political disturbances caused by the factious part of the community, consisting alike of Anabaptists, Catholics, peasants, and many persons actuated by no religious considerations whatever,[2] it is not to be supposed these sects would have excited general attention, much less that alarm which prevailed through Germany and the low countries. Historians, fired by the common impulse, seized on these things as the distinguishing features of the sects, and have contemplated those sects as a race of men, void of principle, setting laws, order and true religion at defiance, and wishing to overwhelm the world in a flood of licentiousness. These charges are made very readily; but, we think, are far from being well supported. The Anabaptists evidently were not all such persons. There were many good men among them. They were studious of the Scriptures, and behaved with great fortitude in all their sufferings. One of the principal crimes alleged against them, is that they maintained a community of women. In doubting this, we differ

[1] Mosheim says, "The severest laws were enacted against them, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers were devoted to death in the most dreadful forms." Cen. xvi. Sec. i. Chap. 3.

[2] Buck, in his Theo. Dic. art. Anabap. has some just remarks on this subject. "It must be acknowledged that the true rise of the insurrections of this period, ought not to be attributed to religious opinions. The first insurgents groaned under severe oppressions, and took up arms in defence of their civil liberties; and of these commotions the Anabaptists seem rather to have availed themselves, than to have been the prime movers. That a great part were Anabaptists seems indisputable; at the same time it appears from history, that a great part also were Roman Catholics, and a still greater part of those who had scarcely any religious principles at all. Indeed, when we read of the vast numbers that were concerned, in these insurrections, of whom it is reported that 100,000 fell by the sword, it appears reasonable to conclude that they were not all Anabaptists."

from historians of the first respectability. We will insert here, therefore, a paragraph from Bayle, and leave it to have its proper weight upon the reader's mind. "Perhaps I shall not be mistaken in conjecturing that the writers of Heretical Catalogues have forged this chimera (community of women) by giving a bad turn through ignorance or malice, to one of the consequences of the doctrine of equality of condition. It is certain that the Anabaptists, at first taught this equality; the consequence of which was, that a young lady of good family, ought not to refuse propositions of marriage from the son of a peasant, and that a gentleman ought not to decline the courtship of a country girl. If our catalogue writers built the absurd doctrine which they impute to the Anabaptists upon this foundation, are they less impertinent than the doctrine itself?"[1]

UNIVERSALISM PREVAILED AMONG THE ANABAPTISTS.

XI. That the doctrine of Universal Salvation was maintained by some of the Anabaptist sects is not to be doubted, though it is impossible, at this day, to tell how extensively it was received among them, or in what forms it was holden. Evans, in his Sketch of the denominations of the christian World,[2] and after him Mr. Adam, in his Religious World Displayed,[3] have asserted that the German

[1] Bayle's Hist and Crit. Dic. art. Anab. See also the following extract: "The Anabaptists have been reproached as being bad citizens, disturbers of the public repose, as not being willing to render to the Magistrate the obedience which is his due. This accusation appears to me a little vague. I could wish their opponents had been more particular. Perhaps they wished to exact oaths of them. Jesus Christ did not approve of oaths; and besides is not a simple promise as good as an oath? The one is of as much value as the other. Oaths have been designed to impress a sense of duty more strongly upon the commonality and the ignorant; but whether I raise my hand toward heaven, or lay it on a Holy Book, as was commonly practised heretofore, or hold it in the pocket of my habit, when I make a promise, is it not the same thing? Perhaps the Magistrates of Zurich demanded that they should renounce their errors, and should believe like them, and like Zuinglius their apostle. In that case ought they to have obeyed and violated their conscience?" Bibliotheque Raisonne, for April, May and June, 1774.

[2] Art. Universalist. [3] Art. Universal Restoration.

Baptists before the Reformation propagated this sentiment. Maimbourg and Lamy, in their history of Arianism,[1] state "that the Anabaptists of the Upper and Lower Rhine, at least, some of them, held that the torments of the devils and of the damned would have an end, and the apostate angels be reinstated in their first condition at the creation." "To this capital error," says the writer in a French Encyclopedia,[2] "the Anabaptists added many others from the Gnostics and ancient heretics: viz. Some have denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and his descent into hell; others have maintained that the souls of the dead sleep until the day of judgment, and that the pains of hell are not eternal." Another eminent writer[3] of the seventeenth century, asserts, that "the Anabaptists, in the last century, undertook to maintain that all the damned, and even the devils themselves, would at length be saved, and that an end would be put to their punishments or torments which their sins deserve." The same writer informs us, on the authority of D. Wigandus, that Johannes Denckius, attempted in a public writing to defend that doctrine, and that Stanislaus Pannonius published a book, entitled *Divina Philanthropia,* in support of the same sentiment.

DENCKIUS, HETZER, AND PANNONIUS.

XII. The three men whose names stand out most prominently at this period, as defenders of the doctrine of the final salvation of all men are Hans Denk, [John Denckius,] Ludwig [or Lewis] Hetzer, and Stanislaus Pannonius. The first two were united in their labors. It is difficult to learn much in regard to them; and what we do learn comes from their enemies, exaggerated by all the bad aid that jealousy and malice could supply. Denckius was born, it is said, in Upper Pfaltz, and was a scholar of Oecolampadius. He was Cometor for a time in Basle, and

[1] Webster's Translation, Westminster 1735, p. 74.
[2] Encyclopedie, par une Secietie de gens de lettres. Paris, 1751.
[3] Quintstedii Syst. Theolog. part i. p. 575.

then rector of the school of St. Sebald in Nuremberg, but becoming an Anabaptist, and an advocate of Origen's doctrine of Universal Salvation, he was deposed and banished. This occurred about 1524, or only nine years after the commencement of the Reformation. Suffering themselves for opinion's sake, the early Reformers became persecutors in turn.

For a few months Denk was at Muehlhausen, and in 1525, went to Switzerland. Here he probably first made the acquaintance of Hetzer. As they sympathized in a communion of faith, they united in various literary labors having relation to religion. They made a translation of the Prophets. The work was probably executed at Augsburg, where they lived for a considerable time, and where they spread their doctrine, it is said, in secret. This is not probable, however, as both were persecuted there, and Denk fled to Strasburg, and in 1528 went, again to Basle, and continued to reside there and at Worms till the time of his death, which was occasioned by the plague not long after. Little doubt can be entertained that this was a fortunate issue of his life, for had he lived long he would in all probability have suffered a violent death, like his friend Hetzer, at the hands of the public hangman, and his body have been burned.

Denk taught, as we have seen, the *Restoration of all things*, and it is probable also sympathized with his friend Hetzer in his Anti-Trinitarian views. Von Einem tells us that he had followers, who were called *Demonists* or *Demoniasts*, because, says he, Denk and his adherents endeavored to maintain that even evil spirits will finally be saved. Another writer assigned a different reason for this name, which was that Denk and his sect required those who were baptized to renounce seven evil spirits. Many of that age might have been required to renounce a whole legion.

Buettenhausen, in his "Contributions to the History of the Pfaltz," tells us that Denk was induced by Oecolam-

padius to *recant* his errors before his death, and that his recantation was published. Of the nature and extent of this recantation we have no means of judging.

Denk, as well as Hetzer, was a man of learning, and so far as we are informed, of good character. His enemies do not accuse him as they do Hetzer, of having twelve wives, nor with any other violation of morality. How improbable the charge is in the case of Hetzer, can be inferred from his zealous literary labors.

As some of Denk's writings were reprinted in a 12mo. vol. at Amsterdam in 1680, it would naturally be inferred that there were those who sympathized with him a century and a half after his death.[1]

Petersen speaks of Denk as a man possessed of an acute mind and distinguished in the faith of a world's salvation. He was the author of several works, which were published at different times, but the smaller pieces were republished at Amsterdam, in 1620, 12mo. Petersen refers to one of his works on the question, "Is God the author of sin?" On page 68 he says, "Sin is of no avail against God; and be it ever so great, God can and will overcome it to his eternal praise and without injury to his creatures. . . . . If sin could not be annihilated, it would have been better that God should not have created at all, than to have permitted sin. Still had it been otherwise, it would not have been well. If God had not created, he would have been known only to himself, which were not enough for his glory. Had he prevented sin, his mercy would not have been mercy, because it would have had no object on which to display itself, or who needed it. But if it could not be overcome, then God would not be Almighty, and must forever see his enemy standing by his side; yea, his enemy would be his equal in power."

Denk believed that all punishment is remedial and salu-

[1] See Dr. Sawyer's Contributions to the History of Modern Universalism, in the Christian Ambassador, No. ix.

tary. He appeals to the conduct of parents in their dealings with froward children, who are ever ready to receive them when they return penitent and humble. "Even men who are evil do this," says he, and shall not God do as much, whose riches and goodness no one can sufficiently speak or even think of. Happy is he, who in his anguish and necessity, knows the compassion of God, and fears not to trust himself to his grace" [1]

Ludwig, or Lewis Hetzer, is generally recognized as having avowed the faith of Universal Salvation. He was born, probably, near the close of the fifteenth century, though the year is not given, at *Bischofzell*, a city in Swiss Thurgan. For a considerable time he exercised the office of Chaplain in the market town of Wardenschweil on the lake of Constance, and afterwards became priest at Zurich.

When the Reformation broke out there, he united with its friends, and labored to promote the common cause both by preaching and writing. As early as the year 1525, it was found that he had gone over to the Anabaptists; and at Augsburg he so violently opposed the preacher Urbanus Regius, who was then preaching against Carolostadt's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that the authorities expelled him from the city. Shortly after a reconciliation took place between him and Zwingle, as appears from the preface of his translation of Oecolampadius' book, *de Eucharistia.* Here he confessed that his dislike of infant baptism sprang from this circumstance, that in the Romish church they ascribed salvation to water baptism, and hence held unbaptized children as damned, and so have assigned them a particular burying place; but he says that Zwingle has taught him a better doctrine, viz: that baptism is to be regarded as only a covenant sign.

Notwithstanding this publicly avowed change of opinion, Hetzer remained not free from the suspicion, that he was

[1] Petersen's "Mysterion Apokatastasis, etc.," Vol. i. pp. 83, 84, and Murdock's Translation of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. iii. p. 232, n. 7.

attached to the fanatical Anabaptists; and in a work of the year 1527, in which the preachers at Strasburg, where he then resided, gave warning against every party of Anabaptists, and among others of *Hans Denk*, a leader of them, they remarked that Hetzer embraced his opinions, although he would not confess it.

Both these men possessed much to recommend them. They were well skilled in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and were really men of fine talents, only as Joachim Vadianus, the learned Burgomaster of St. Gallen, adds, they were touched with an indescribable love of novelty. Denk renewed among other things, Origen's doctrine of the so-called *restoration of all things*, or of the ultimate salvation to be hoped even for the damned. Hetzer went still farther; he wrote a special book against the divinity of Christ; but Zwingle prevented it from being published either at Zurich or Basle. Still Hetzer is particularly distinguished for his biblical translations, in which Denk also labored with him. These were, "All the Prophets according to the Hebrew, translated into German," published in folio at Worms in 1527, and at Hagenam in 1528. They appeared before Luther's translation of the Old Testament, and previous to his, were the best translation that had appeared. Hetzer was a poet also, and his *Lieder* or Songs are noteworthy, and some of them were inserted in a collection made at Zurich towards the close of the sixteenth century.

This singular man was finally beheaded at Constance, in the year 1529.[1] Those who honor him say on account of his doctrines, but other cotemporaries on account of repeated adultery. Even his enemies acknowledged that he died with uncommon steadfastness; still he persisted to the end that infant baptism must be given up.

Such is the account of Hetzer, given by Schroeckh, in his

[1] See Murdock's Mosheim, New York, 1850. Vol. iii. 223.

"History of the Christian Church since the Reformation." — Vol. v. pp. 485 – 8. Joachim Vadianus, before mentioned, called him a man of great versatility of talent, distinguished for his ability, and especially skilled and wonderfully dexterous in the languages. Hering tells us that at the commencement Hetzer, with the assistance of John Denk, produced many useful works against Popery, but he went over to the fanatical Anabaptists, among whom he became celebrated, and was the first among the Germans to write against the divinity of Jesus Christ.[1]

Of Stanislaus Pannonius, little can be known except the fact already mentioned. Pannonius published a book entitled "De Divina Philanthropia," in support of the fact of the final happiness of all men. In the year 1546, a book appeared in Germany under the title "*Paradisische Riviren*," which seems to have favored Universalism, but how far, it is impossible to say.

CONDEMNATION OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

XIII. But the most conclusive of all testimony in proof that the doctrine of Universalism was held by these sects, is the XVII article of the Augustin Confession, in which they are expressly condemned for maintaining it. The Augustin Confession, as the most of readers know, was that confession of the faith of the Protestants which was drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the Emperor Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg, in the name of the whole Protestant body. In this confession the principles of the Protestants were developed, the reasons why they separated from the Church of Rome were set forth, and the errors of the sects called *heretical* were pointed out and condemned. In the seventeenth article they say they maintain, "that Christ will appear in the end of the world to judgment, and that all the dead shall be raised; that to the

[1] See Dr. Sawyer's Contributions to the History of Modern Universalism, in the Ambassador of January 14, 1854, No. viii. of the series.

pious and elect he shall give eternal life and happiness, but that impious men and the devil he will condemn to torment without end." Herein, they say, "they condemn the Anabaptists, who maintain that there shall be an end to the punishments of the damned and of the devils." [1] It is not stated in this Confession what particular sects of the Anabaptists held to this doctrine, nor how extensively it had spread among them; but it is to be supposed from the circumstance of their being condemned in this manner, that it was held by some of their most eminent men.

SECT OF THE LIBERTINES.

XIV. Another sect which arose about this time, and which falls within the design of this work, was the Libertines, of whom we are not to judge by the bad sense in which the name given to them has since been used. The sect arose in Flanders, and afterward got footing in France, through the power of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I. Francis, in himself of no religion whatever, bestowed his favor on Catholics or Protestants, just as his political policy required. Although at times, vehement and unreasonable in his opposition to the Reformers, he permitted their doctrines to be disseminated in his kingdom. Margaret, a woman of a highly cultivated mind, had early manifested a strong attachment to the principles of the Reformation, and by the influence which she had over her brother, who most fondly loved her, she secured royal favor to those men of liberal principles whom she invited into France. During the intervals of favor which the Protestants enjoyed, they constituted several churches, in some of which the Libertines found patrons. Of the sentiments of this sect we can learn nothing except through the writings of their adversaries, who, in the true spirit of the age in which they lived, have not been sparing of

[1] Hist. of Augustin Confession by David Chytræus.

reproaches and calumnies.[1] Much as the Reformed and Lutheran churches differed in some points, they agreed in treating heretics with the utmost rigor and contempt. From the writings of their opponents, we learn that the Libertines considered God to be the author of all human actions, and it is said, but probably without truth, that they denied the distinction between good and evil. Religion, in their view, consisted in the union of the mind with God; and they maintained that, all who had arrived at this happy union might live without restraint, as all their actions and pursuits would then be perfectly innocent. They held that after death men were to be united to the Deity.[2] Calvin was their most eminent opponent; who, after waiting some time, that the sect might die of itself, found it necessary, as it was coming into royal favor in France, to write against it.[3] It flourished principally in Brabant and Holland. Its members professed to be gov-

[1] It has been very difficult to learn the sentiments of this sect, in consequence of the unsparing enmity of the Reformers toward them. The Catholics continually goaded the Reformers with being the cause of all these sects, which increased the rage against them. Probably, these so-called Libertines or advocates of spiritual liberty, did not all hold precisely the same opinions. There seems to have been a class of men at Geneva who bore that name, who were not a religious sect at all, and who are not to be confounded with the friends of spiritual liberty whom we have named. Marcossius says, "There is another kind of Libertines which promise the compassion of God to every man, and even to the demons after judgment." See G. P. Marcossii Elenchus Alphabeticus Hæreticorum, Art. Lib. He refers to Lindanus and also to Calvin's Book, against the Libertines, from which it seems they flourished chiefly in Brabant and Holland.

Calvin, in his *Instructio Adversus Sectam Libertinorum*, speaks with great severity of the Libertines, and very much in the strain in which Universalists are spoken of in the present day by their opponents. He says, "they *pretended* to receive the Scriptures, turning it into allegorics." "They held that man's soul was a part of Deity and returned to God at death." There were various sects of them in Brabant and Holland and other parts of Lower Germany. Calvin says, "they consider the devil and also the angels, nothing but certain imaginations without substance." They believed the resurrection to be the eternal continuance of our immortal principle.

[2] Mosheim Cen. xvi. Part ii. Chap. ii. 38.

[3] See Calvin's work, entitled "Instructio Adversus Sectam Libertinorum."

erned by the influence of the divine spirit upon their hearts; and they enforced the moral duties upon mankind. The common view of the personal existence of the devil they rejected, as they did also that of endless punishment.[1]

ACCOUNT OF DAVID GEORGE.

XV. In considering the Anabaptists, we should, perhaps, give a particular attention to David George, the founder of a new sect, who after him were called Davidians, and Georgians. He was a native of Delft, and at first an Anabaptist. His liberality and opulence joined to his probity and purity of manners, obtained for him a very high esteem, which he enjoyed until his death. After his decease he suffered considerably in his memory, by means of charges preferred against him by his son-in-law, Nicholas Blesdyck; and the Senate of Basil, the place in which he died, passed sentence against him, and ordered that his body be dug up and burned. These charges, however, did not affect his reputation for virtue; but respected erroneous opinions only. Moshiem speaks of his character with tenderness, and declares that his writings, and the followers whom he left behind, show that he was a man of much more mildness and sense than had been usually attributed to him.[2] He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavored to restore it among his followers.

Of his religious opinions it is almost impossible to obtain a tolerable account. Whether he maintained the visionary notions attributed to him, no one can tell. He is said to have denied the existence of angels, the common opinion of heaven and hell, and the doctrine of a future judgment. Mark, he did not deny heaven and hell, in themselves, but merely the common opinion concerning them. His follow-

[1] G. P. Marcossii Elenchus Alphabeticus Hæreticorum. Art. Libertini et Gnostici.

[2] Mosheim Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. Part ii. chap. iii. 23.

ers existed for many years in Holstein, Friesland and other countries.

EXCITEMENT AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS.

XVI. All these sects were persecuted by their opponents, both civil and ecclesiastic, with the most unrelenting indignation. Catholics and Protestants, kings and subjects, united in their extermination; but perhaps, after all, we must award the palm of pre-eminence in this cruel undertaking, to the Reformers themselves. In extenuation of this, some have plead that the Anabaptists were seditious, and aimed at the overthrow of all human government, a charge which can perhaps be sustained against a small part of them. But those who had no such designs, who held it unlawful to bear arms, and who desired to throw off human authority in matters of religion only, were condemned to the most extreme suffering.[1] Luther cried aloud for the suppression of these sects; and the mild Melancthon, with all the principal Reformers, assisted in refuting their doctrines, and bringing them to punishment. There is no difficulty in accounting for the conduct of the Reformers in this particular. They were fearful that the Reformation would be brought into disrepute, and this fear was increased by the continual clamor of the Catholics, that the increase of sects was wholly to be attributed to that event. Moreover, the opinions of the Reformers were called in question by those who, in throwing off the authority of the Pope, held it as a right to form their judgment without accountability to any body of men. Here were two classes of men, somewhat antagonistic, namely, the leading Reformers,

[1] "It is much to be lamented," says Mosheim, "that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? Why were doctrines purely theological, or, at worst fanatical, punished with the same rigor that was shown to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society?" Cen. xvi. Sec. iii. Part ii.

and the minor sects. With the same arguments by which Luther and his followers justified themselves in dissenting from the Catholic Church, did the Anabaptists assert the privilege of differing from others ; and when the Protestants railed because the Anabaptists ventured to set up new dogmas and introduce new divisions, it was very natural to apply their own arguments to their great disadvantage. Inspired with the common zeal to read the Scriptures, the new sects made themselves very familiar with the letter at least, and divine authority was adduced in the one case as much as in the other. Had the leading Protestants justified the Anabaptists in asserting new opinions, deploring, at the same time, if they felt themselves obliged, that these opinions were erroneous, they would not have put into the hands of the Catholics that weapon by which themselves were so frequently wounded. But it constitutes a striking contradiction in their character, that while they maintained their right to separate from the Mother Church, and to express and maintain their opinions, they justified the infliction of penalties on those who refused to conform to the Protestant standards of faith and worship.

HOW THEY WERE PERSECUTED.

XVII. Pursuant to these feelings, measures were immediately taken to suppress the Anabaptist sects. Severe edicts were issued against them, and, at length, capital punishments were resorted to. As early as 1525, penal laws were enacted to suppress them in Saxony, which were several times renewed in succeeding years. The Emperor Charles V. in the years 1527 and 1529, joined in the work of proscription and death. The magistrates of Switzerland, disposed at first to lenity and indulgence, soon lost their mildness, and exercised their power by denouncing the punishment of death against the common offenders.[1]

[1] Mosheim, Cen. xvi. Part ii. chap. iii. 6.

Not only in these places, but in nearly all the countries of Europe, the Anabaptists endured the most cruel and rigorous treatment. They were imprisoned, banished, slain by the sword and burned. The innocent and guilty were involved in the same destruction. Those whose only fault consisted in unsoundness of faith, met a like fate with such as were seditious and treasonable. Many of these had embraced their doctrines in the utmost sincerity, and labored to produce what they thought was a needful reformation in the lives and manners of men. But little distinction was made. Incurable heretics who were loyal subjects, were involved in a common extermination with those who desired to overthrow the civil institutions of the world.

The descendants of these unhappy men have preserved voluminous records of their numbers, names, lives and sufferings. The instances which they afforded of devotion to their principles, even while burning, are indeed worthy of preservation. They bore their afflictions with a meekness and an intrepidity which are rarely accompanied with insincerity. Nor did these persecutions arrest the increase of their numbers, for they seem to have had the most adherents while the tempest of persecution was at its height. Zuinglius, who seems in this instance to have lost his accustomed benevolence and liberality, asserted that he who repeated the ordinance of baptism should be drowned. All the principal Reformers wrote against them, and the most energetic measures were taken to procure their condemnation by all ecclesiastical bodies.

SUFFERED NOT SOLELY FOR UNIVERSALISM.

XVIII. It should not be thought, however, that these sects suffered solely for believing in the doctrine of Universal Salvation. How extensively the sentiment was received among them is not known; and it is certain that their views concerning baptism were as obnoxious as any

article of their faith. Yet they were regarded as worthy of special condemation in the Augustin Confession,[1] for believing in the eventual restoration of all men to holiness and happiness. The Papists, in their reply to the Confession, found it to be one of those few things in which they could agree with the Protestants, to denounce those who held that the mercy of God is over all his works, and that he will finally crown them with universal blessedness. It is worthy of remark here, that the doctrine of endless misery cannot be regarded as *a doctrine of the Reformation.* For although, as we have seen, Universalism was condemned in the Confession, the Reformers were not distinguished by the assertion of endless misery from the Catholics, as they were by maintaining the supreme authority of the word of God, and the right of private judgment. For ten centuries the Catholic Church had

[1] Luther and Melancthon were the authors of the Augustin Confession. That the religious opinions of the Protestants, and their grounds of complaint against the Church of Rome, might be made known to the Emperor Charles V. at the diet which commenced at Augsburg, June, 1530, the Elector of Saxony directed Luther and other eminent divines to commit them to writing. The first draft contained seventeen articles, and was presented to the Elector at Torgaw; but it being desirable that the Protestants should express their views with great mildness, and more in detail, Melancthon was appointed to extend the articles. Although the Confession was from the pen of Melancthon, he showed a great regard to the counsels of Luther in drafting it.

The following is the seventeenth article.

Art. xvii. Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolus condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt, hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse. Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum, pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubiq; oppressis impiis. Hist. of Aug. Confess. by David Chytræus.

In respect to this condemnation, Rev. Dr. Sawyer says: It is probably known to most of my readers that, from the very beginning of the Reformation, Universalism has found believers and advocates in Germany as well as in England. Although it seems to be pointedly condemned in the Augsburg Confession, it is worthy of remark that the article in which its condemnation was pronounced, was probably levelled far more at the Anabaptists, some of whom held the doctrine in question, than against the doctrine itself. This, at least, appears to be the opinion of Reinhard, who is, therefore, little disposed to construe that article so rigidly as American Orthodoxy would require.

asserted the eternal ruin of all those who died out of its communion; hence, the doctrine of endless torment is not *a doctrine of the Reformation:* it was one of those foul spots which were cast upon the fair garments of the Church as she descended into the valley of corruption, from which those failed to cleanse her whose half-opened eyes had never seen her entire glory.

The doctrines of the Reformation cannot certainly be such doctrines as had generally prevented that great event; not even if the Reformers held such doctrines afterwards. Those doctrines only are worthy the significant title, "doctrines of the Reformation," which gave birth to the Reformation, and by the belief of which its friends were distinguished from its enemies.

THEIR PERSECUTIONS SPREAD THEIR SENTIMENTS.

XIX. The severe treatment which the Anabaptists received, was the means of dispersing them abroad. Some were driven from their homes by banishment, others fled from the gathering storm. Wherever they went they carried their sentiments with them; and zeal in their defence was quickened by their sufferings. At length arose Menno, a convert from Popery, who at first privately, and afterwards openly, with the greatest devotion, espoused the cause of these injured men. He travelled from country to country, correcting their errors, and encouraging their hearts. He condemned the views which some entertained of the rise of a spiritual kingdom in the world, upon the ruins of all civil government. He retained their sentiments concerning baptism, the thousand years reign of Christ upon the earth, (with which they had associated that of Universal Restitution) and also concerning the injustice of war, and the unlawfulness of oaths. The followers of Menno still exist in some European countries, particularly in Holland; and also in the United States; nor have they forgotten the faith of their fathers, for if the authority of

Evans and Adam is to be depended on, they "have long held the doctrine of the Restoration." [1]

[1] Mr. Adam's words are, "The Mennonites in Holland have long held the doctrine of the Universalists; the people called Dunkers or Tunkers in America, descended from the German Baptists, hold it, and also the Shakers." See his Religious World Displayed, Vol. iii. p. 387. But Rev. Morgan Edwards says, in his history of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, "The Mennonists do not, like the Tunkers, hold the doctrine of general salvation; yet, like them, they will neither swear (make oath) nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, &c." See his History (Ed. of 1770), Vol. i. p. 94. Thus it would seem, that if the Mennonites in Holland held to universal restitution, the branch that was brought over to this country, did not continue to draw sap from the parent vine. It is difficult to get at the exact truth. All we can say is, that some of the German Anabaptists held to the universal restitution; and carried it with them wherever they fled. They must have cherished that doctrine for nearly two hundred years in Europe; for the Tunkers, who came into America in 1720 and 1730, brought it with them. See the History of Universalism in Pennsylvania, in the latter part of this work.

BOOK II.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND; SPREAD OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANABAPTISTS AND OTHER SECTS; AND THEIR CONDEMNATION.

[From the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Elizabeth, A. D. 1500 to 1562.]

The Reformation at first opposed by Henry VIII.; He denounces the Pope and favors the Reformation; Cranmer made Archbishop and favors the Reformation; Translation of the Bible by authority of the King; The Reformation progresses during the reign of Edward VI.; New sects spring up in England; Universalism makes its appearance; The new Sects opposed by the Reformers; The Anabaptists prevail extensively; The Forty-two Articles set up as a standard of national faith; Death of Edward — Accession of Mary; Accession of Elizabeth, and change in the articles; Universalism, no heresy in the Church since that change.

REFORMATION AT FIRST OPPOSED BY HENRY VIII.

I. It was near the beginning of the reign of the notorious Henry VIII. that the Reformation commenced in England. Like the rest of the European countries, this kingdom had been gradually induced, in former years, to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, and to assist in supporting his power and dignity. But, at the time of which we write, the vices of the clergy attracted great attention; and a disposition arose as soon in this country as in any other, among the controllers of civil matters, to expose the wickedness of ecclesiastics, and set bounds to their power. The art of printing had been introduced into England as early as 1464, by the joint means of Henry VII. and Archbishop Bourchier, which had tended, in no small degree, to enlighten the people, and to give them that taste for improvement which it is certain they so much

needed. When this monarch obtained a confirmation of his disputed title to the Crown of England, his opponents did not hesitate to say that the Pope could not give him a title which he had not in reality; and it cannot be denied that with respect to civil matters, the power of the Pope had been very sensibly diminished. But between the Church of England and that of Rome, there was perhaps as perfect a union at the accession of Henry VIII. as there had been in any preceding reign. The followers of Wickliffe were persecuted, and some of them suffered death; the use of Tyndal's translation of the New Testament into English, was prohibited by every Bishop in his diocese; and great care was taken to suppress books in favor of the Reformation, which had begun to come into England, with considerable profusion, from Germany. Henry VIII. had been educated by his father for the Church; and when, upon the death of his brother Arthur, he became heir apparent, he was kept to his studies, lest his restless and fiery spirit should induce him to set up a dangerous competition for the crown, which devolved on him, through the line of the house of York, by the death of his mother.[1] Thus qualified for a theologian according to the forms and usages of that period, Henry felt in himself the ability to manage disputes of a religious as well as a secular character; and when the works of Luther reached England, he stepped forth as the champion of the Church, to defend her against the attacks of the Reformer. He wrote a book in Latin for that purpose, of which a copy, very richly bound, was presented by an ambassador to the Pope. Engaged in a dispute with France, the Holy Father stood in great need at that time of Henry's assistance; and knowing his vanity, he believed he could in no other manner please him so well as to bestow upon his book the highest strains of praise, and honor him with some new and flattering appendage to

[1] Warner's Ecclesiastical History of the Church of England.

his name. He, therefore, called his Cardinals together, and after a long debate, it was agreed to confer upon Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which his successors on the English throne ever since have borne. Luther, daunted neither by the Pontiff nor his royal auxiliary, answered the King's work, and turned back upon him his torrent of acrimony.

HENRY FAVORS THE REFORMATION.

II. The arbitrary will of Henry thus far had decided against the Reformation; but his mind soon changed. When the Court of Rome came to oppose his wishes in regard to a divorce from Catharine, and persisted in their opposition until Henry broke peace with them, he used all his efforts to destroy the authority of the Pontiff in every part of his realm. His father, instigated by the love of wealth, and not wishing to refund the money he had received in part of Catharine's dower, had contracted for his marriage with her; but he, then only in his fourteenth year, protested against the consummation of a nuptial connection with his brother's widow, as being contrary to the laws of God. Whether he had serious doubts, or whether the protestations were made for other reasons, cannot here be considered. On the death of the father, the Spanish Ambassador urged the marriage between the young King and Catharine, and the subject was debated in Council with great earnestness. By those who desired the connection, the dispensation which the Pope had granted was urged in favor of its lawfulness, and the matter was finally settled in about two months after Henry's accession. But the union proved to be neither a long nor a happy one. In a few years the person of the Queen became offensive to him. He was attracted, too, and very unhappily at that time, by the beauty and accomplishments of one of her maids of honor. To complete the course of untoward circumstances, while treating with the King of France for the

marriage of his only daughter, the princess Mary, to the Duke of Orleans, the French Ambassador demurred to the legality of his connection with Catharine, and, of course, to the legitimacy of the princess. Some one, if not all these reasons, gave him a desire, which was soon changed to a resolution, to obtain a divorce from the Queen. He made application to the Pope for a bill of divorcement, who, after a long course of equivocation, enraged Henry with his delay, and induced him and his friends to use their utmost efforts to destroy the papal authority in England, and set up that of the King as Supreme Head of the Church. Here we see the origin of the Reformation in that country. Henry, however, had no intention of reforming *the doctrines* of the Church, as his severity against those who dissented from the established faith, which flamed out even after his rupture with the Pope, but too plainly showed.

CRANMER MADE ARCHBISHOP.

III. Among those who devoted themselves to the advancement of the Reformation, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, held a conspicuous place. He had obtained the favor of the King by an early defence of the unlawfulness of his marriage with Catharine, and particularly by the book which he had published on that subject at Cambridge. He had visited Germany on the King's business, where he had read the books of Luther, and become acquainted with many of the Reformers, by whose means he had become convinced of the usurpations of the Pope, and the errors of the Catholic Church. On the death of Warham, Henry resolved to raise Cranmer to the See of Canterbury. Cranmer knew the fickleness of royal favor, and he saw dangers of an appalling character, if the king should be taken away; so that whether the king should live or die, he felt that he brought himself into peril by

accepting the high office to which he was called. Obeying the call of his Sovereign therefore with great reluctance, he returned from Germany; and providing himself with an inefficient salvo to his conscience, he took the oath of obedience to the Pope, and was advanced to the Archbishoprick. Soon the variance between the King and the Pontiff grew to an irreconcilable difficulty; the King was excommunicated; and, in return, he left no means untried to extirpate the authority of his eminent adversary from the kingdom.[1]

While the King aimed at nothing more than transferring the power which the Pope possessed over the English Church into his own hands, it was the desire of Cranmer to reform its doctrines, and diffuse the knowledge of pure religion among the people. He used his influence, therefore, to obtain the King's consent for a translation of the Bible into the English language. There was much division in the minds of the Bishops on the propriety of placing the Bible in the hands of the people generally. Those opposed, endeavored to convince the King, that such a measure would introduce new heresies, puff up the people with the pride of their own opinions, and thereby diminish their reverence for him as Supreme Head of the Church. The other class, with Cranmer at their head, directing their arguments also to the vanity of the King, assured him that nothing would exalt him so highly in the esteem of his subjects, as a desire to instruct them in the principles of religion; and moreover, that when they came to read for themselves, they would see that the ungodly power which the Pope had exercised was not granted to him in the word of God. The latter argument prevailed with the King, and he gave orders for a new translation of the Scriptures.

[1] Nearly the whole of this account of the Reformation in England, is abridged from Warner's Eccles. Hist. of the Church of England, to which the author confesses himself much indebted.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, BY AUTHORITY OF THE KING.

IV. This was the first translation which was made by authority, though the Bible had been several times translated into English before, and some persons had suffered for attempting the work. Wickliffe, in 1360, prepared a translation, which was never in general use. Nearly two centuries had transpired, when Tyndal and Coverdale translated and printed the New Testament in English; but in consequence of some reflections cast upon the clergy in the preface and notes, it was suppressed and burnt. With an invincible resolution to spread a knowledge of the Scriptures, Tyndal translated the whole Bible, except the Apocrypha, and printed it abroad; but while preparing a second edition, he was seized, and burnt in Flanders for his adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation. The work he had undertaken was carried on by his former associate, Miles Coverdale and John Rogers, the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign, who was then minister of an English Church in Germany. They translated the Apocrypha, revised Tyndal's translation, comparing it with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German; and, making free use of Luther's Bible, they added prefaces and notes. This has usually been called Matthews' Bible, because Rogers dedicated it to the King of England, under the assumed name of Thomas Matthews. A degree of royal favor was shown to this translation, but it was soon succeeded by the one that was published under authority. Henry directed that a copy of the latter should be placed in each parish Church, where, according to Hume, it was fixed by a chain. The King issued a proclamation, acquainting the people that the permission to read the Bible was an act of his goodness, and not of his duty; and that they were to read it not for dispute and wrangling, nor to expound difficult passages without the assistance of the learned. In a short time after, permission was given them

to read the Bible at their houses, as many had been deterred from a free use of it at the churches by the fear of laying themselves under the suspicion of heresy. We must award to Cranmer the praise of using all his influence in pursuading the king to grant the people the privilege of reading the Scriptures. This was a task of no little danger, since it was zealously opposed by the Popish Bishops, who by flattery and cunning produced much effect upon Henry's mind; and his favor was so easily extinguished by insinuations and suspicions, that those who possessed his confidence, if such it might have been called, could not place any great reliance upon it. Under these circumstances, Archbishop Cranmer did not hesitate to aid the Reformation. He assisted in revising the translation of the Bible; and whenever he had a prospect of success, urged the King to those measures which had a tendency to enlighten the people, and open their eyes to the abuses of the Catholic Church. He had the mortification, however, in a short time, to see the use of the new translation, forbidden by proclamation, and the books of some of the Reformers called in and burnt. There was still another check to the Reformation. Learning had not been diffused among the people, and very few of them could read, so that but a small number had it in their power to avail themselves of the privilege which the zeal of the Archbishop had obtained for them. Heresies had been frequently punished with death during Henry's reign, and many were hindered from reading the books of the Reformers, and even the Bible, through fear of the stake. When suspicion had become excited, and a man's enemies had resolved on his destruction, there was but little hope of deliverance. The power which the King possessed was as absolute as that which had ever been claimed by the Pope; the king was, in fact, the Pope of that nation. There was a strong party opposed to all innovations, at the head of which several of the Bishops were known to stand. Each

party pursued its purpose, success crowning sometimes the one, and sometimes the other. At the death of Henry, power between them was nearly balanced; but in the accession of Edward VI., the Papists had but little to hope in favor of their cause.

REFORMATION PROGRESSES IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD.

V. Edward VI. came to the throne at the age of nine; and having been educated by preceptors of Cranmer's sentiments, he desired the advancement of the Reformation. The Archbishop stood first among the sixteen executors who had been, by the will of the late King, entrusted with the government of the kingdom during the minority of Edward; and relieved from his servitude to Henry, he resolved with greater zeal to set about a further improvement in ecclesiastical matters. He had, however, powerful enemies yet to contend with. At the head of the opposite party was the princess Mary, afterward of notorious memory, the Earl of Southampton, Bishops Tonstal, Bonner and Gardner, with several others. It was Cranmer's wish to proceed by sure and slow degrees; but the Reformers, finding they had the King, the Protector, and the Primate in their favor, pressed their wishes with such zeal as to produce some disorders. The cruel laws which had been enacted in the past reign, and which prevented the progress of reform, were now repealed. To supply the want of good preachers, a book of homilies to be read in the churches was composed, and a general visitation was appointed, that proper rules might be set up in every place, and the prevailing evils corrected. Subjects of dispute were freely introduced into the pulpit, and a bold and invigorating spirit of inquiry began generally to prevail.

The Bible, translated into English, being placed in the hands of the people, they were prompted by the exhortations of many of the clergy, as well as by their own inclinations, to make themselves acquainted with its contents.

The friends of the Reformation were persuaded, that a diffusion of the true knowledge of the Scriptures would be a vast advantage to the cause they wished to promote; hence they made frequent appeals to this book against the enormities of the Church of Rome, and entreated the people to study it, as they would therein find a confirmation of the truth of the new doctrines. While many discouragements were thrown in the way of the Popish Priests, those who favored the Reformation enjoyed peculiar favor and preached under special license; and seeing that the arbitrary interpretations given to the Bible by the former were lessening daily in public estimation, they did not hesitate, with loud exhortations, to call private judgment into exercise. These measures were seconded by the wish of the Reformers to make religion a concern of the understanding, and abolish mummery and form. The Church services which had formerly been in Latin, were now performed in English; and attention was turned from images, from crosses, from relics, and from legends, to the contemplation of subjects of far greater importance. Such a change brought the Bible more into use, and men began to feel that religion was a matter of each one's own knowledge and conscience, to the examination and performance of which he should attend for himself, and not commit them to others.

NEW SECTS SPRING UP IN ENGLAND.

VI. This alteration of public customs and the efforts of the Reformers to spread a knowledge of the word of God, produced in England precisely the same effects that like causes had produced in Germany. That bold spirit which it was necessary to cultivate to induce the people to throw off the errors of Popery, was not, nor could it be confined within those limits which the leading Reformers had prescribed for it. It was their wish, and that of Cranmer in particular, to proceed slowly, to conform in some measure

to the prejudices of the Papists, and to avoid the extremes of Reformation. This, he thought, was the most likely to be lasting. He wished rather, by the help of government, to set up a barrier against the return of Popery, than to correct all the prevailing speculative errors. He was afraid of bringing unnecessary odium on the Protestant cause by attempting too much at once. But had the Reformers good reason to suppose they could restrain that high tide of feeling which they had set in motion? and when they cut the moorings of the unsteady barque of popular faith, (by which the Pope had long held it under his power,) and surrendered it to the current of Reformation, what good assurance could they have that it would stop at the point which they proposed? The irresistible course of improvement did not admit of it. Many propagated new opinions, which were heresies in the estimation of the Protestant King and his Council, as well as in that of the Papists. An enthusiastic strain of devotion succeeded to the dull rites and exterior observances of the ancient religion. "Many circumstances," says Hume, "concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making proselytes, the furious persecutions to which they were sometimes exposed, and their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices." All those who could read the Scriptures, would of themselves judge of their contents; and they very frequently came to different results in forming their opinions from those of the principal Reformers. This caused a number of new sects to arise in the kingdom, differing essentially in the points of their faith from Archbishop Cranmer and his associates. Nor is it at all surprising that many strange and whimsical notions should have prevailed.[1] The people had heard what little

[1] "Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the Reformers, than the offer which they made of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him." Hume, chap. xxxi

Scripture they were acquainted with, interpreted with the greatest license; reason and calmness maintained but a distant connection with religion; just rules of criticism were very little known, and biblical learning, such as now receives that appellation, was little thought of. It is also reasonable to suppose, that some, losing their attachment to what had been considered sound, and judging of the meaning of the sacred writings without prejudice, would come to just conclusions. Upon these suppositions we very naturally and readily account for that general outbreaking of sects which happened at the time of the Reformation, and of the distribution of the Scriptures among the people; and in examining the pages of ecclesiastical history, we find that we might expect a variety of opinions strange and new, some of more, some of less extravagance, and some rational and some scriptural. Thomas Becon, a Chaplain to Cranmer, lamented the rise of these sects in the following strain, which the Papists with great readiness applied to all the Protestants: "What wicked and ungodly opinions are there sown now-a-days of the Anabaptists, Davidians, Libertines, and such other pestilent sects, in the hearts of the people, unto the great disquieting of Christ's Church, moving rather unto sedition, than unto pure religion, unto heresy than unto things Godly."[1]

But there is yet another circumstance which contributed very essentially to the rise of these sects in England. Many of the German Protestants had come to that country, and labored assiduously to cultivate their opinions. Reformation having begun in both countries, a free intercourse was maintained between them. Several Reformers of eminence moved into England, and to some of them places

[1] Becon's work was entitled Jewel of Joy. See Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Book ii. Chap. 33.

were assigned in the Universities.[1] The persecution which was carried on against the Anabaptists and other sects in Germany and the Low Countries, drove many of them abroad for security. They had a hope, perhaps, that the vigor with which the Reformation was pushed in England, and the repeal of the most cruel statutes, might save them from that destruction with which they were threatened in their own countries, and, therefore, flocked thither to take refuge under a mild administration.[2]

UNIVERSALISM MAKES ITS APPEARANCE.

VII. It is at this period we discover the first traces of Universalism in England. How extensively it was received we have no means of knowing. It excited general attention, and was thought worthy of special condemnation in

[1] Henry, for purposes of state, invited over the German Reformers. This became generally known; and the Protestants of all classes flocked into England. Hume, chap. xxxi.

[2] A tolerable judgment of the feeling commonly possessed towards heretics, and of the punishment which was thought proper for them, may be formed from the following antique rhyme, entitled "*Vain writers, vain talkers, vain hearers*," written by Robert Crowley, a learned printer, in the year 1550, and placed among his Epigrams; by which, it is said, "a notable insight is given into matters, customs and abuses of these times." Strype's Memorials, ii. 266.

Of late as I lay and lacked my rest,
At such tyme as Titan drew fast to the East,
Thys saying of Christ came into my mynde,
Which certain and true al maner men shal fynde;
Of every idle word ye shal give a Reckonyng,
Be it spoken by Mouth, or put in Wrytinge.
O Lord, thought I then, what case be they in,
That talk and write vainly, and think it no syn?
Then slombered I a little, and thought that I saw
Three sorts of vayn menne condempned by God's law.

The one was a Wryter of things nought and vayn,
And another a Talker; and this was theyr payn:
The Wryter had the crowne of hys Head opened,
Whose Brayns with a styck the Talker styrred.
And he with both hands drew the Talker's Tongue
So that withowt hys Mouth it was a handful long:
The third was a Herkener of Fables and Lyes,
Whose Ears were almost drawn up to hys Eyes.

the XLII Articles of Faith which were framed in the latter part of Edward's reign. But the particular histories of those sects that received it, if such were ever written, have perished; and all the accounts we possess were drawn up by their enemies, who seem to have gloried in representing them in the worst possible character. The art of printing had been but lately discovered; few presses were set up in the Kingdom; and these were placed entirely out of the power of that class of people of whom we are speaking, — a circumstance which precludes all cause of wonder that no histories of them, written with impartiality and a full knowledge of their sentiments, have ever appeared.

THE NEW SECTS OPPOSED BY THE REFORMERS.

VIII. Those who ventured to depart from the doctrines of the principal Reformers, found themselves in the greatest danger of suffering for heresy, even at the time when the Reformation itself was advancing with great success. There were certain circumstances which prompted the Reformers to the exercise of this rigor. Reformers never love to be reformed upon. And besides, the Catholics were continually reminding them, that if they persisted in the work of innovation, they would not know where to stop; that they would split into a thousand factions, and thus all unity in faith would be lost. "'Tis a dangerous thing," said a Catholic Bishop, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humor of novelty, you cannot stop a people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure."[1] With respect to the translation of the Bible, the Catholics in the reign of Henry, had plead, "that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time

[1] Hume.

that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a *thousand sects must arise*, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the Scriptures; and would be able by specious arguments to seduce many into a belief of the most dangerous principles. And if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest and inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and, therefore, the more secure establishments." [1] In order to guard against this danger of which the Catholics forewarned them, the Reformers prescribed certain limits, beyond which they would not go. To use the words of a late writer, "the leading men amongst them, seem to have entered into a sort of compact not to transgress these limits themselves, nor suffer them to be transgressed by others. The moment, therefore, that any one, more bold or more enlightened than the rest, presumed to go a single step beyond them, not only Catholics but Protestants, too, fell upon him; and the general treatment he received from his Protestant brethren was even more severe than that which he received from the Catholics; as the former opposed him not only as sinning against the truth, but as bringing a great scandal on the Reformation." [2] The Reformers had their pride of opinion also to urge them on in their opposition to the new sects. They, it is true, had departed from the Papal Church with discretion; but others could not depart from them without great sin. For the Catholics to persecute them for seceding from the mother Church, was a most egregious act of wickedness; but for them to stop heresy, and bring those to punishment who advanced farther than they, was an act

[1] Hume, chap. xxxi. [2] Christian Disciple

of duty to God, the Kingdom, and the true Church. It is a fact which cannot be denied, that the Reformers set up an authority in matters of faith, very little to be preferred over that which was maintained by the Catholic Church; and heresy was punished under them with almost as much severity as it had been punished by the Papists.

THE ANABAPTISTS PREVAIL EXTENSIVELY.

IX. The tenets of the Anabaptists prevailed to such an extent that complaint was made to the Council that they were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes all over the Kingdom.[1] It was thought necessary, therefore, to issue a commission to the Primate, six other Bishops, the Secretaries of State, and several divines, to search after and examine the heretics. They were instructed if they could induce them to recant, to enjoin penance and absolve them; but if they persisted in their opinions, to excommunicate, imprison them, and deliver them over to the secular authority. Among those who suffered was a woman, called Joan of Kent, whose principal heresy was a

[1] *Anabaptists.* This term comes from the Greek ἀνά and βαπτίζω, and is a name given to a Christian sect by their adversaries, because they objected to infant baptism; they baptized again those who joined their sect and hence their name. See Encyclo. Americana, under the word. Under the broad name of Anabaptists at the time of the Reformation, were included, we repeat, all who went further than the Reformers saw fit to go in urging the principles of the Reformation. Those who were the authors of the civil disturbances in Germany and other parts of Europe, were also classed among the Anabaptists; but the pious, sober, and discreet ought not to have been held accountable for the fanaticisms of others, over whom their opinions had no influence. There was a great variety of opinion among the Anabaptists; for, at first, they were a strange mixture of all kinds of people. A late writer has said: "The first Unitarians who appeared in England after the commencement of the Reformation were Baptists; and they were the first Protestants who suffered martyrdom in this country under a Protestant government, and through the influence of Protestant ecclesiastics; they were also the last who were appointed to death for their religion. The last person burnt alive under the charge of heresy, was a Unitarian Baptist, Edward Wightman, who was burnt at Litchfield on the 11th of April, 1611; and the last person actually tried for heresy, Edward Small, was also a Unitarian Baptist. It is a somewhat singular fact, when we consider the position of the Baptists of the present day, that the first Unitarians and Universalists after the Reformation, were found among the Baptists.

dissent from the common opinion of the incarnation of Christ. On being brought before the proper examiners, she declined recantation, and was adjudged worthy of burning. The young King at first refused to sign the warrant for her death. He thought it cruelty like that which the Reformers had condemned in the Papists, to put Christians to death for their opinions. Archbishop Cranmer, in this transaction, brought an indelible stain upon his own character. He used his influence with Edward to persuade him of the justice of her sentence, and maintained that burning was not too great a punishment for heresy, a sentiment which was afterward retorted upon him, when he himself was brought to the stake, in queen Mary's reign. The King was persuaded, at last to sign the warrant for her death, which he did with tears; and she suffered with a constancy worthy of a better fate. A Dutch Anabaptist was sentenced to death for saying that the Father only was God. When brought to the stake, he was in a transport of exultation; he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him, "a species of frenzy," says Mr. Hume, "of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age." Although these rigorous measures did not entirely root up and destroy the alleged heresies, they had the effect to silence the different sects, and produce at least an ostensible conformity to the established faith and worship.

THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES PREPARED.

X. The more effectually to produce a uniformity of faith throughout the nation, especially among the clergy, the doctrines of the Church were put into form, and XLII articles of religion were sent forth under the authority of the king. Cranmer had long been desirous to prepare this standard of national faith, but he waited impatiently until there should be such changes among the Bishops, as should

prevent any serious opposition to the measure.[1] In the winter of 1552, the articles were made ready, and presented to an assembly of the clergy in London. By what method they were compiled, cannot now be said ; but it is thought probable they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, and sent to others to correct, or add to them, as they thought fit.[2] There were two particular objects which the Reformers had in view in preparing the Articles, viz. to guard against the errors of Popery on the one hand, and the new opinions which had been broached by the Anabaptists on the the other.[3] Of these Articles the last seven are evidently directed against the errors of the Anabaptists. In the 36th, it is declared that the Civil Magistrate is ordained and approved by God: that civil or temporal laws may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences ; and that it is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons and to serve in the wars. Herein were condemned the opinions of those Anabaptists who maintained that all temporal authority was usurpation, and that it was unlawful for Christians to bear arms. In the 37th, it was asserted that the riches and goods of Christians are not common, against those Anabaptists who held to a community of goods. The 38th, maintained the lawfulness of oaths, by which those Anabaptists were condemned who believed that all oaths were unlawful. In the 39th, it was declared that "the resurrection of the dead is not past already." The opinion that men sleep, or are unconscious, until the resurrection, was condemned in the 40th Article. The 41st, condemned the Millenarians, and the 42d, the Universalists, as follows:

XLII. *All men not to be saved at last.* "*They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavor to restore that pernicious opin-*

[1] Warner, ii. 296.
[2] Strype's Memorials of Edward VI.; chaps. xv. and xxii.
[3] Broughton's Histor. Dic. Art. Articles of Religion.

ion, that all men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine Justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed."

"Thus," says Bishop Burnet, "was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form; in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists, and enthusiasts of Germany." [2] To use the words of Archdeacon Blackburn concerning the 42d Article, "one may be pretty sure that this Article was not aimed at any error of Popery;" [3] there cannot remain any doubt, therefore, that it was designed here to condemn the Anabaptists,[4] and other contemporary sects.

To set an example to the whole nation the King first subscribed the Articles with his own hand. They had been delayed a year since their preparation; and as Edward was

[1] The XLII Articles at length, with the alterations that were made in them ten years after, in the reign of Elizabeth, may be found in Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, Vol. ii. Collec. of Records, p. 190.

[2] Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, ii. 139.

[3] Hist. View, p. 25.

[4] The Anabaptists should not be regarded as having formed only one sect; they were a great variety of persons of different tastes and views; some of them very wild and disorderly, and some sober, pious and orderly. It is well known that some of the most disorderly among them believed in the doctrine of endless misery. See the History of Anabaptism by Rev. Parsons Cooke, p. 222, where he represents one of the leading and most fanatical among the Anabaptists, as crying out to his hearers, "the great day of the last judgment is coming, and you are to be damned forever." We are very far from thinking that all the Anabaptists believed in the doctrine of Universalism; it was the milder class who embraced that sentiment, and the descendants of whom in Germany, Holland, and other parts of Europe, and in America, long held the same opinions. Rev. Elhanan Winchester says, (Dialogue 3d) "The Shakers or German Baptists in Pennsylvania, and the states adjacent, who take the Scriptures as their only guide, in matters both of faith and practice, have always, as far as I know, received and universally, at present, hold these sentiments (Universalism); but such Christians I have never seen as they are; so averse to all sin and to many things that other Christians esteem lawful, that they not only refuse to swear (make oath) go to war, &c., but are so afraid of doing anything contrary to the commands of Christ, that no temptation could prevail upon them to sue any person at law, for either name, character, estate, or any debt be it ever so just."

drawing near his end, by a consumption, he would not refrain any longer from establishing them by authority. The Bishops were all required to subscribe, and all persons wishing to enter holy orders, and all that officiated in the Churches, either in reading or preaching, or that held any benefice. Those who refused subscription were disabled from any preferment. The king wrote letters to the several Bishops, giving them directions, that if any who held office under them should refuse to conform to the Articles, information was immediately to be lodged against them in the Council, that such measures might be adopted as the cause should require, and as should comport with justice and the laws.[1] A mandate was likewise sent to the University of Cambridge, requiring that all Doctors and Bachelors in Divinity, and all Doctors of Law and Masters of Arts, should, before their creation, swear to them and subscribe them, and be denied their degrees on their refusal.[2]

DEATH OF EDWARD — ACCESSION OF MARY.

XI. But religion was destined to suffer a sad reverse in England soon after the promulgation of the Articles. Not a year had elapsed when the amiable Edward died; and the project of raising the Lady Jane to the throne utterly failing, his death made way for the exaltation of his sister Mary, a bigoted Catholic. No sooner had she received the crown than the imprisoned Bishops and Clergy of the Catholic faith obtained their liberty, and the Parliament which had so vigorously supported the Reformation under Edward, now became obsequious to every wish of Mary. Hooper, Latimer and Ridley, and very soon Cranmer, were brought to the stake under circumstances of the most distressing character. By a removal of some Bishops, and

[1] Strype's Memorials of Edward VI. chaps. xv. and xxii.
[2] Warner, ii. 307.

by replacing others who had been deposed, the Convocation[1] was brought to favor the Catholic religion. All the preachers throughout the kingdom were silenced, except those who should obtain a particular license; and all the laws enacted concerning religion during the reign of Edward were repealed by one statute. The Convocation manifested its disapprobation of King Edward's XLII Articles, and denounced them as "full of heresies."[2] And, as if to abolish all remembrance of the Reformation, a proclamation was issued against books of heresy, in which it was declared, "that whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay, be executed by martial law."[3] It is not a wonder, that the writings of the early English Anabaptists, if any were printed, have not reached us, through the ordeal thus prepared for them.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH — CHANGE IN THE ARTICLES.

XII. Happily for England, the reign of Mary did not embrace a period of six years. She was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, a Protestant, and a woman possessed of many qualifications for the high station she filled. The Parliament, as obedient to Elizabeth as it had been to the preceding queen, passed an act confirming all the statutes relating to religion, which had been established in the

[1] The Convocation was an Assembly of the Clergy for consultation upon matters ecclesiastical, in time of Parliament, and, as the Parliament consisted of two distinct Houses, so did this; the one called the Upper House, where the Archbishops and Bishops sat severally by themselves; the other the Lower House, where all the rest of the Clergy were represented by their deputies. The examining and censuring of heretical and schismatical books was entrusted to the Convocation; but there lay an appeal to the King in Chancery, or his delegates.

[2] Warner, ii. 335.

[3] Hume, chap. xxxvii.

reign of King Edward, and shortly the whole system of religion was restored again, as it had been set up by Cranmer and his associates. The queen, however, wished to advance the Reformation by gradual means,[1] that she might not irritate her Catholic subjects, and she permitted some things to remain with which she would gladly have dispensed, except for this reason. Cranmer had been succeeded in the See of Canterbury by Cardinal Pole, who dying about the same time with Mary, gave room for Elizabeth to raise to that high station, Matthew Parker, who had been her instructor, and who reluctantly left the retirement in which he had spent his days during Mary's reign. He was the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and has the credit of having promoted the Reformation steadily and mildly. Not so much perplexed as Cranmer either by Catholics or Protestant heretics, he does not seem to have contracted that inveteracy against those, who in thinking for themselves, differed from their rulers. In about four years after her accession, Elizabeth gave a license to the Convocation to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church, when the Upper House began with the former, reducing the XLII Articles to XXXIX, the number which they retain to the present day. There were no very essential alterations made in the doctrine of the Articles, if we except the omission of the four which stand last in the original order of them, viz. that which declares that the Resurrection is not past already, that which opposes the sleep of the soul until the resurrection, that which condemns the Millenarians, and that

[1] "Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisitions into men's bosoms; she imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who received trust or emolument from the public; and though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law was, in many instances, connived at." Hume, chap. xl.

which condemns the Universalists. The change in the Articles may be attributed chiefly to the Archbishop; but what were the particular reasons why the condemnation of Universalists was omitted in the revision, we have not the means of knowing. Whether the Archbishop was himself favorable to the doctrine, or whether the occasion for its condemnation had passed away by the disappearance of the sects who had maintained it, (which we can hardly suppose could take place in the short term of ten years,) or whether at this time, it was thought altogether inoffensive and innocent, we have not the means now of ascertaining. If we may hazard a conjecture, we should say the latter is the most probable, inasmuch as we have no proofs that Parker was an Universalist; or if he were, it is not to be believed that the whole Convocation agreed with him; nor can it be admitted that the Anabaptists had departed the kingdom.

UNIVERSALISM NO HERESY NOW IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

XIII. It deserves to be remarked in this place, that from the time of the revision of the Articles, it has not been considered an offence, in the Church of England, to avow the doctrine of Universal Salvation. Some of her most eminent divines have maintained it, without incurring any displeasure or disability on that account. And perhaps there have been furnished as spirited arguments on both sides of this question by members and divines of the English Church, as the world has ever seen. "It is owing to the moderation of our Church," says Dr. Hey, (who seems himself to be in great doubt as to the truth of endless misery,) "that we are not called upon to subscribe to the eternity of hell torments; nay, we are not required even to condemn those who presume to affirm that all men will be finally saved. . . . . Though one were inclined *to hope* with Dr. Hartley, that all men will be happy ulti-

mately, that is, when punishment has done its proper work in reforming principles and conduct; yet to *affirm it* must always be presumption." [1]

A clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, who wrote a very interesting course of sermons in illustration and defence of Universalism, on Rellyan principles, maintained that the XXXIX Articles teach the doctrine of the salvation of all men. But this admits of doubt; the matter seems to be left in the Articles so that each person can make up his own mind on the subject, according to his understanding of the word of God. The following extract from the author referred to is worthy of attention:

"But methinks I hear an objector to this propose, how comes it to pass that of all the clergy of the Church of England, you are the only one that ever found out that is the doctrine of the Bible, that all men have a title in Christ to eternal Life; that all men will finally be saved? and how does it become you, as a clergyman of the Church of England, to teach a doctrine so contrary to what is, and ever has been taught by that Church? Is no deference to be paid to any of her Bishops, or the judgment or opinion of any other of her great and learned men, nor indeed to the opinion of the whole Christian church, for seventeen hundred years? I answer, I am not the only one of all the clergy of the church of England, that has found this doctrine in the Bible; and if I was the only one, surely I have a right to preach the gospel even the truth as it is in Jesus if I find it, whether I agree with another man or not, unless the authority of men is greater than the authority of God; certainly I have no right to preach, what I think to be inconsistent with truth; however, as a clergyman of the Church of England, I have a right to judge for myself, of the promises of God; for the Church of England in the close of her seventeenth article of religion directs thus, even these very words, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth in the holy scriptures; but as she has not told in her articles how God's promises are to be understood, except as they are generally set forth in the holy scriptures, she certainly leaves it to me to judge for myself of these promises, and I do judge them to be promises of eternal life to all mankind without exception in Christ Jesus our Lord; and the articles of the Church of England, as I have heretofore taken notice, do set forth the offering of Christ once made as a perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual. Now I ask, if there is perfect

[1] Hey's Norrissian Lectures, ii. 389, 390.

satisfaction made by Christ, for every sin of the whole world, how justice can ever condemn, or execute the sentence of the law for sin, upon any one individual of the human race? When a perfect satisfaction is already made to God, for all the sins of men, to demand the payment over again is evidently the highest injustice; as great injustice, as it would have been, to have punished all mankind with everlasting misery if no one of them had ever sinned. If every sin of the whole world is satisfied for, it is plain and evident that every man must be saved; for what can condemn any man if the sins of all are satisfied for? If they are not saved, it is plain they cannot be punished. But there is no middle way between salvation and damnation, so that you must see the Church of England has, in her articles, taught the salvation of all men, at least impliedly; and am I to be condemned for differing from all the church clergy in doctrine, because I preach up the doctrine of the thirty-nine articles? Is this a crime to preach up the doctrine contained in the articles of the Church of England, because it is said none of the rest of the clergy teach so, but the contrary? Will the preaching up the doctrine of the Church of England contradict the doctrine of her clergy? This would be a sad thing indeed. Can preaching the doctrine of the Church of England, be showing disrespect to her Bishops, or great writers, or clergy? Who composed the thirty-nine articles? Was it not the Bishops and the Clergy of the Church of England, and was it their doctrine? or did they set forth a doctrine for the Church of England, different from their own doctrine? But my teaching that all mankind will finally be happy, is not preaching contrary to what is, and ever has been taught by all the rest of the clergy of the Church of England For no less a man than Archbishop Tillotson, has been wrote against for preaching this doctrine; and at least in one of his sermons, he did intimate that this was his opinion, though at the same time he appeared to be in darkness and doubt about it, and several others of the clergy of the church have taught the salvation of ALL MEN. Mr. Murdon, a church clergyman now living I suppose, has for a number of years, preached the same doctrine, as I do openly and fully; and has printed a book upon the subject, and yet is in full and regular standing under his Bishop."[1]

This quotation may appear to be somewhat out of place; but it is important to show how the Articles have been regarded, by the clergy of the Church. Many of her great men, who did not themselves believe in Universalism, have allowed, that the subject is not settled by the Articles, but that every man is left to make up his own mind upon it, according to the best light God hath given him.

[1] See "Universal Salvation and Damnation, clearly proved by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament." Ed. of 1826, Boston, pp. 86 to 88.

BOOK III.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ENGLAND CONTINUED; ITS CONDEMNATION BY THE PARLIAMENT; AND NOTICES OF ITS DEFENDERS DURING THIS PERIOD.

[From the reign of Elizabeth to that of Queen Ann; A. D. 1560 to 1700.]

Rise of the Puritans; Presbyterianism introduced and Church of England abolished; Rise of the Independents; Spiritual conflicts of the sects; Cruel statutes passed by the Presbyterians in Parliament; The cruelty of Parliament does not check alleged heresy; Gerard Winstanley defends Universalism; Wm. Earbury, the Independent; Notice of his works; Richard Coppin defends Universalism; Is indicted and tried at Worcester and Oxford; Is indicted and tried at Gloucester; He disputes in the Cathedral at Rochester, Kent; He is imprisoned; Anonymous works in defence of Universalism; Work entitled, "Considerations upon Eternity;" Character and tolerant measures of Cromwell: He dies, and the restoration and Act of Uniformity ensue; Sir Henry Vane (the younger), a Universalist; Rev. Jeremy White, Chaplain to the Protector, a Universalist; White's work on the Restoration of all things; His excellent character; Anonymous work on Universalism; R. Stafford's "Thoughts of the Life to come;" Other writers supposed to have been Universalists; Jane Leadley and the Philadelphian Society; Retrospection.

RISE OF THE PURITANS.

I. The prospects which dawned upon the Church of England in the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, were soon obscured by gathering clouds of discontent and schism. The queen, as "Supreme Head of the Church," claimed the prerogative to dictate to her subjects what religion they should profess, and what forms they should observe. This determination gave rise to that body of dissenters, denominated Puritans, who objected not only to the high claims of the queen, but to the Episcopal form of government, and to the retention of many of the forms of

the Roman Church, particularly the vestments of the clergy. Many of them, having been driven into other countries by the persecution under Mary, imbibed feelings which it was impossible to reconcile to what they denominated corruption and usurpation ; and they suffered many privations, both among the clergy and people, rather than conform to the established authority and ceremonies. On the accession of James, (1603,) who had been educated in Scotland, they had strong hopes of a mitigation of their sufferings ; but they soon learned that he entertained as high an opinion of the royal prerogative, both in civil and religious matters, as his predecessor. It was during the reign of this king, that the version of the Scriptures now in common use, was prepared, by divines whose obsequiousness to his Majesty's will, repaid him for the zeal with which he espoused the cause of the Established Clergy. Still, it ought to be remembered, that the King seems to have been governed by good motives in his desire to bring out the New Translation ; and, if we make some slight exceptions to the directions he gave the translators, we are constrained on the whole to allow, that the arrangements for the work were judicious. The Translation is not perfect; yet it is probably the best that has ever been made into the English language.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND ABOLISHED.

II. On the accession of Charles I. (1625) the difficulties which threatened the Church were by no means lessened, and a darker cloud soon came over the civil interests of the kingdom. Difficulties arose between the King and his Parliament on the subject of raising money, which continued to increase, until the partizans on each side rushed to arms, and involved the nation in all the horrors of civil war. To defend themselves the more resolutely against the forces of the King, the Parliament, urged on by the popular voice, called in the aid of the Scots, who were opposed

vehemently to Episcopacy, and who had established the Presbyterian form of Church government. In an agreement which was formed between them and the Parliament, generally denominated the *Solemn League and Covenant*, it was mutually engaged to extirpate "Popery and Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism and profaneness."[1] The forces of the King were overthrown; the power of the Parliament everywhere prevailed; and thus the Church of England was abolished; and it remained extinct until the Restoration in the person of Charles II.

RISE OF THE INDEPENDENTS.

III. Presbyterianism had not been long established, when a third great party began to rise in the kingdom. The King had been forced to give himself into the hands of the Scots, by whom he was delivered over to the Parliament; and after a few short intervals of perplexing doubt, the executioner put an end to his troubles. Thus relieved of their common enemy, the popularity of the Parliament began to decline; and the army itself dictated rules to that body which for so many years had been the glory of the nation. The principal officers of the army were anxious above all things to take into their own hands the supreme power; and they endeavored to abolish the Presbyterian government, and set up the system of the Independents, who were Anti-Presbyterians, or Congregationalists. Having but few preachers to second their views, they undertook themselves to preach and pray publicly to the troops; and even the common soldiers turning divines, preached to one another, entered the pulpits of the churches where they quartered, and harrangued the people with great fervor. These measures were highly agreeable to the Independents scattered over the kingdom, and thus a party was formed which balanced very equally the power of the

[1] Hume, chap. lvi.

Presbyterians. The confidence of the nation in the Parliament had sensibly declined; that body daily grew weaker by its own acts; and at last, Oliver Cromwell, whose military exploits had made him the idol of the people, dissolved it by the weight of his influence, and placed himself at the head of authority. It is due to the Independents to say, they were the friends of religious liberty. Mr. Hume does them the justice to allow this, although he attributes their liberality rather to their fanaticism than to any well settled principles. He says, "Of all Christian sects, this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and it is remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism."[1] We shall soon see, that we may well praise God, that the sword of civil power, passed out of the hands of the Presbyterians into those of the Independents.

SPIRITUAL CONFLICTS OF THE SECTS.

IV. During the period of high political dissension, that strict watch which had been kept to detect the rise of heresy must, in some great measure, have been relaxed. Printing had come into more general use, and now that not only the Bible, but books on controverted subjects were distributed, and the taste for learning having increased in a corresponding degree, the people had the means to avail themselves of the privileges which the art of printing threw in their way. The multitude began to read and judge for themselves. We may emphatically term this an age of sects. The Puritans, after a long and vigorous dispute with the Established Church, had availed themselves of the political troubles, and accomplished their purposes. The Independents, bolder than the rest, had asserted and

[1] History of England, chap. lvii.

maintained their prerogatives. Besides these there was a multitude of lesser sects, among whom the descendants of the Anabaptists may be discovered. Each one who felt the inclination became a preacher; and inculcated his views with much less restraint than formerly. It would be impossible to give a history of the great variety of opinions which were propagated at that time, some of which were undoubtedly false; nor is it necessary to the purpose of this history that it should be done. It is certain that Universalism prevailed to a very considerable extent; and some even rejected altogether the notion of punishment in the future state for the sins of this life. These views were maintained, both in preaching and in writing, by some persons of talent and considerable eminence. From this period a few of the works in defence of these sentiments have reached us, and, in a few cases, biographical sketches of the authors. The Presbyterians turned upon the Independents with the same accusations which the Catholics had made against the Reformers, and charged them with being the cause of all the variety of opinions which prevailed. A certain Thomas Edwards, of that class, became as furious against Independents and other sects which had risen, as he had been against royalists; and, in a work which he published, he undertook the task of giving an account of all the errors which prevailed, and of refuting them.[1] Although his testimony is not always to be depended on, yet he may be believed when he declares that among other errors, the very existence of hell in the future state was denied, and that all men, and even the devils, shall be saved at last, "and shall see, feel, and possess blessedness to their everlasting salvation and comfort."[2]

[1] Biographia Britannica, art. Ed.

[2] Gangrena, Part iii. p. 10, 11. We know not the persons to whom Mr. Edwards here refers. He was exceedingly anxious to crush every heresy; and the object of his "Gangrena" (a malicious title by the way) was to point out the heresies then prevailing, that Parliament might be incited to crush them. He called upon the civil magistrates, who held the sword,

CRUEL STATUTES PASSED BY PARLIAMENT.

V. The bitterness and zeal of the Presbyterians towards all who differed from them, had been manifested in the debates and statutes of Parliament. It is true, that class of religionists had lost much of their influence in this body; and when the army was near, this influence was still more diminished; but they embraced the opportunity on one occasion, when some of their absconded members resumed their courage, and appeared again among them, to exhibit the cruel principles of their religion and their hearts, by passing such an ordinance against heretics, as cannot, says Mr. Warner, "be censured in terms of too great severity."[1] Universalists, among the rest, were made the objects of parliamentary indignation. All those who maintained that Jesus Christ was not the true God, or who taught that the bodies of men will not rise from the dead, or who denied the doctrine of a judgment in the future state for the sins of this life, were, by this act, to be committed to prison without bail; and, if on trial they were convicted, and did not abjure, they were to be punished

to give attention to these alarming evils. He told them they were verily guilty; that their forbearance was filling England with the vilest errors, and that their brethren in Scotland were looking upon them with amazement, to see them so indifferent to the highest interests of the people. Neal says, in his History of the Puritans, "The most zealous writer against the sectaries was Mr. Thomas Edwards, Minister of Christ Church, London, a zealous Presbyterian, who became remarkable by a book entitled, 'Gangrena,' or a catalogue of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies, and pernicious practices of this time." In the epistle dedicatory, he calls on the higher powers, to rain down all their vengeance upon these deluded people, in the following language: "You have done worthily against papists, prelates and scandalous ministers, in casting down images, altars, crucifices, throwing out ceremonies, &c.; but what have you done (says he) against heresy, schism, disorder, against Seekers, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Brownists, Libertines, and other sects, &c., &c." Mr. Neal further says, that Edwards made sixteen classes of heretics, at the head of which he placed the Independents, "because they were for the toleration of all Christians who agreed in the fundamentals of religion;" and he adds the fact, that Mr. Edwards "went on publishing a second and third 'Gangrena,' full of most bitter invectives and reproaches, till his own friends were nauseated with his performances." Hist. of Puritans, Part iii. chap. 7.

[1] Eccle. Hist. of Church of England.

without benefit of clergy, as in cases of felony.[1] This unmerciful Parliament were disposed to show a degree of favor to those who admitted the doctrine of punishment in a future state, though such did not hold it to be endless; they decreed, therefore, not that such should suffer death, without benefit of clergy, (as in the former case,) but that, if they refuse, on conviction, to recant, they should be cast into prison, there to remain till they gave two sufficient sureties that they would maintain said error no more.[2]

THE CRUELTY OF PARLIAMENT DID NOT CHECK ALLEGED HERESY.

VI. It will undoubtedly be a matter of surprise to every person, that immediately after the enactment of this law, the doctrines designed to be abolished by it should be

[1] 5 Warner, ii. 571. Mr. Neal, speaks of the passage of this infamous law in the following very decisive terms: "The Parliament was now recruited with such Presbyterian members as had absconded, or deserted their stations, while the army was quartered in the neighborhood of the city; these gentlemen, finding they had the superiority in the house, resumed their courage, and took the opportunity of discovering their principles and spirit, in passing such a law against heretics as is hardly to be paralleled among Protestants. It had been laid aside by the influence of the army for above nine months, till May 1st, when it was voted that all ordinances concerning Church government referred to committees be brought in and debated; and that the ordinance concerning blasphemy and heresy be now determined, which was done accordingly. This was one of the most shocking laws I have met with in restraint of religious liberty; and shows that the governing Presbyterians would have made a terrible use of their power, had they been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate. The ordinance is dated May 2, 1648." . . . "The ordinance was a comprehensive engine of cruelty; and would have tortured great numbers of good Christians and good subjects." History of the Puritans, Part iii. chap. 10.

[2] The following is the act referred to. An act passed by the Parliament of England, May 2, 1648. Extracted from Scobell's Collection.

"For punishing Blasphemies and Heresies. For the preventing of the growth and spreading of heresy and blasphemy, be it ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that all such persons as shall from and after the date of this present ordinance willingly by preaching, teaching, printing or writing, maintain

That there is no God, or,

That God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not Almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not Eternal, or

That the Father is not God, the Son is not God, or that the Holy Ghost

avowed and defended with unusual zeal. Yet such was the fact; and we adduce it as an evidence of the insufficiency of human laws to arrest the progress of free inquiry; and of the disposition of those in whom the love of truth is the predominant passion, to set arrogant rulers at defiance, and to defend conscientious opinions at the risk of liberty and life. It should however, be remarked, that the political troubles of the times, by preventing a rigid execution of the statutes relating to religion, gave to the various sects an opportunity of promulgating their senti-

is not God, or that they Three are not one eternal God: or that shall in like manner maintain and publish,

That Christ is not God equal with the Father, or shall deny the manhood of Christ, or that the Godhead and manhood of Christ are several natures, or that the humanity of Christ is pure and unspotted of all sin; or that shall maintain and publish as aforesaid,

That Christ did not die, nor rise from the dead, nor is ascended into heaven bodily, or

That shall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that shall maintain and publish as aforesaid,

That Jesus Christ is not the Son of God, or

That the Holy Scripture (viz.) of the Old Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obediah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. Of the New Testament, the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Acts of the Apostles. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Corinthians the first, Corinthians the second, Galatians, Ephesians, Phillipians, Colossians, Thessalonians the first, Thessalonians the second, to Timothy the first, to Timothy the second, to Titus, to Philemon, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the first and second Epistle of Peter, the first, second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, the Revelation of John, is not the word of God, or

That the bodies of men shall not rise again after they are dead, or *That there is no day of judgment after death.*

All such maintaining and publishing of such error or errors, with obstinacy therein, shall by virtue hereof be adjudged felony, and all such persons upon complaint or proof made of the same in any of the cases aforesaid, before any two of the next justices of the peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witnesses (which said justices of the peace in such cases shall hereby have power to administer) or confession of the party, the said party so accused shall be by the said justices of peace committed to prison without bail or mainprise, until the next gaol delivery to be holden for that place or county, and the witnesses likewise shall be bound over by the said justices unto the said gaol delivery to give in their evidence; and at the said gaol delivery the party shall be indicted for feloniously publishing and maintaining such error, and in case the indict-

ments with greater impunity. The officers of justice, excited by multiplying and conflicting interests, were rendered inattentive, excepting when urged on by the clergy, to violations of laws, designed to guard the purity of the Church. Besides, where laws of this kind are numerous, and are also continually increasing in number, they become less efficacious, and rather promote the cause they were enacted to restrain. Nor should it be forgotten that the authority of the Parliament was greatly lessened. The rise of the Independents checked the Presbyterians in

ment be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of felony without benefit of clergy.

But in case he shall recant or renounce and abjure his said error or errors, and the maintenance and publishing of the same, he shall nevertheless remain in prison until he shall find two sureties, being subsidy men, that shall be bound with him before two or more justices of the peace or gaol delivery, that he shall not henceforth publish or maintain as aforesaid, the said errors any more; and the said justices shall have power hereby to take bail in such cases.

And be it further enacted, that in case any person formerly indicted for publishing and maintaining of such erroneous opinion or opinions, as aforesaid, and renouncing and abjuring the same, shall nevertheless again publish and maintain his said former error or errors, as aforesaid, and the same proved as aforesaid, the said party so offending shall be indicted as aforesaid. And in case the indictment be then found upon the trial, and it shall appear that formerly the party was convicted of the same error, and publishing and maintaining thereof, and renounced and abjured the same, the offender shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person or persons, that shall publish or maintain as aforesaid, any of the several errors hereafter ensuing, viz.

That all men shall be saved, or

That man by nature hath free will to turn to God, or

That God may be worshipped in or by pictures or images, or

That the soul of any man after death goeth neither to heaven or hell, but to purgatory, or

That the soul of man dieth or sleepeth when the body is dead, or

That Revelations or the workings of the spirit are a rule of faith or Christian life, though diverse from or contrary to the written word of God, or

That man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend, or

That the Moral Law of God contained in the ten commandments is no rule of Christian life, or

That a believer need not repent or pray for the pardon of sins, or

That the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not ordinances commanded by the word of God, or

That the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void, and

their mad course, and, at the time of which we are speaking, the former was perhaps the predominant sect. Of all the Christian sects which had sprung up, they were the most favorable to toleration as has been shown. They would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement to any system of doctrine. Every one was by them permitted to preach as he felt himself moved thereunto. It was, as we have said, during the absence of the army, the chief prop of the Independents, that the Parliament passed these cruel statutes; and we may judge, whether any laws they passed, which were opposed by the former, could have

that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pursuance thereof shall baptize any person formerly baptized; or

That the observation of the Lord's Day as it is enjoined by the laws and ordinances of this Realm, is not according, or is contrary to the word of God, or

That it is not lawful to join in publique prayer, or family prayer, or to teach children to pray, or

That the Churches of England are no true churches, nor their ministers and ordinances true ministers and ordinances, or

That the Church governed by Presbytery is anti-christian or unlawful, or

That Magistracy or the power of the civil magistrate by law established in England is unlawful, or

That all use of arms though for the publique defence (and be the cause never so just) is unlawful.

And in case the party accused of such publishing and maintaining of any of the said errors shall thereof be convicted to have published and maintained the same as aforesaid, by the testimony of two or more witnesses upon oath, or confession of the said party before two of the next justices of the peace for the said place or county, whereof one to be of the quorum, (who are hereby required and authorized to send for witnesses and examine upon oath in such cases, in the presence of the party) the party so convicted shall be ordered by the said justices to renounce his said errors in the publique congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint doth come, or where the offence was committed, and in case he refuseth or neglecteth to perform the same, at or upon the day, time and place appointed by the said justices, then he shall be committed to prison by the said justices, until he shall find two sufficient sureties before two justices of peace for the said place or county (whereof one shall be of the quorum) that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more.

Provided always, and be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that no attainder by virtue hereof shall extend, either to the forfeiture of the estate, real or personal, of such person attainted, or corruption of such person's blood."

much force. The danger of violating them could at no time have been great, and must have lessened as the Independents increased in number, and under the Protector it entirely ceased.[1]

GERARD WINSTANLEY DEFENDS UNIVERSALISM.

VII. To Gerard Winstanley must be assigned a place among those who defended Universalism at this period. Of his character and standing in society little is known, except what may be inferred from those of his works which have reached us. Regardless of the penalties to which he knew he would expose himself by avowing, and more particularly by publicly defending his favorite doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all mankind, he, at this period, wrote and published several small works on this subject; and it is a coincidence which ought to be remembered, that one of these works was published in London during the sitting of Parliament, and bears date in the same month in which the cruel law just mentioned passed in that body.[2] This author had before publicly defended the same doctrine, and continued to do it for several years afterward. Many chimeras were intermingled with the truths he maintained, and he partook largely of the disposition which then prevailed, to give to the whole Scriptures an allegorical sense. It is probable he was not a man of learning; but for stern devotion to truth, and patience under afflictions of various kinds, he deserves the highest praise. On the subject of man's final destiny, he says, "The mystery of God is this, God will bruise this serpent's head, and cast that murderer out of heaven, the human nature, wherein it dwells in part, as in the man Christ Jesus, and he will dwell in the whole creation in time, and so deliver all mankind out of

[1] Hume, chap. lxi.

[2] The statute was enacted May 2, 1648. Winstanley's work was published the 20th of the same month.

that bondage. This I see to be a truth, both in my own experience, and by testimony of Scripture, as God is pleased to teach me. . . . . But this mystery of God is not to be done all at once, but in several dispensations, some whereof are passed, some are in being, and some are yet to come; but when the mystery of God is absolutely finished, or, as the Scriptures say, the Son hath delivered up the kingdom to the Father, this will be the conclusion, that God's work shall be redeemed and live in God, and God in it; but the creature's work without God shall be lost and perish. Man, Adam, or whole creation of mankind, which is God's work, shall be delivered from corruption, bondage, death and pain, and the serpent that caused the fall, shall *only* perish."[1] Again, he says, "What is the doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ? What Jesus Christ is, I have showed before. The doctrine or report of him is this: that mankind shall be by him reconciled to his Maker, and be made one in spirit with Him; i. e. that the curse shall be removed, and the power of it killed and consumed. And that created flesh, by that mighty power, the man of truth, shall be made subject to the spirit that made it; so that the spirit which is the Father, may became *all in all*, the chief ruler in flesh. And truly this is but according to the current of the whole Scripture; that in the day of Christ every one shall be made of one heart and one spirit, i. e. that all shall be brought in to acknowledge the Father, to obey him, walk humbly before him, and live in peace and love in him. This is the doctrine of Christ and the Gospel. This is glad tidings to hear of. But when you are made to enjoy this doctrine as yours, then you shall know what it is to know the Son, and what it is to be set free by the Son."[2] Perhaps the

[1] See his work entitled "Mystery of God."

[2] See "Truth lifting up its head above Scandal's." Preface to the 1st edition of Jeremy White. Winstanley's works were so far as we have ascertained, "The Breaking of the Day of God;" "The Mystery of God,

following is as direct a testimony as has come down to us, of his faith in Universalism : "But this is not the end, for as yet the Son hath not delivered up the kingdom to the Father, for he must reign till all enemies be subdued, but death, curse and sorrow are not yet quite subdued, for it reigns over part of the creation still, even over those poor creatures that were lost, or that did not enter into the city, but were cast into the lake of fire. The serpent as yet holds a power, for there is part of God's work not yet delivered from his bondage; and the serpent would be glad, and it would be some ease to his torment, if any of God's works might die and perish with him. As I have heard some say, that they would be content to suffer the raising of a new war in England [this was written just after the civil war] so that such as they mentioned might suffer as well as they; this is the spirit of the serpent. But the serpent *only* shall perish, and God will not lose a hair that he made, HE WILL REDEEM HIS WHOLE CREATION FROM DEATH." See the work entitled "Mystery of God," p. 46, 47. The author then proceeds to answer the objection founded on the application of the word *everlasting* to punishment, and says that as it respects the serpent the punishment will be absolutely everlasting; but that the word *everlasting* was used by the Jews not in the absolute sense; and he proceeds to adduce cases in which it is thus used in the Scriptures, pp. 50, 51.

These defenders of the doctrine of God's impartial and triumphant love, realized fully the truth of their Lord's premonition, "in the world ye shall have tribulation." They were unjustly accused of denying the existence of God, of rejecting Jesus Christ, the authority of the sacred Scriptures, and the duty and usefulness of prayer. Win-

concerning the whole creation, mankind;" "The Father's teaching the only satisfaction to waiting souls;" "Truth lifting up its head above Scandal's;" "The new Law of Righteousness budding forth, in restoring the whole creation from the bondage of the curse, or a Glimpse at the New Heaven," &c. &c.

stanley bears testimony that William Everard, after suffering much misrepresentation in these particulars, was seized, at the instigation of the Clergy, by the bailiffs of Kingston and cast into prison.

WILLIAM EARBURY, THE INDEPENDENT.

VIII. Among the Universalists of this period, a place must be given also to William Earbury, a preacher of great reputation among the Independents, and, of course, a most violent opposer of the Presbyterians. He held several disputes with them in public on the subject of their differences; and on one occasion, he obtained a triumph over his adversaries.[1] Shortly after, he was challenged to a disputation by Francis Cheynel, which was conducted in St. Mary's Church, London. Cheynel, whose life Dr. Johnson has written, and who was a man of no little eminence, was appointed by the Parliament one of the visiters to Oxford, afterwards was made Bachelor of Divinity, and at last filled a Professorship. Earbury, during the Protectorship, was a minister in South Wales, and had a salary appointed him, by authority, of £100 per annum.[2] He preached publicly the restoration of all men; and is charged by Edwards [3] with holding many gross errors, one of which was that of Universal Restoration. Although, beside his salary, he had nothing to depend on for the support of himself and family, yet he threw it up, his conscience accusing him of preaching for hire; and he published a treatise on that account, called the "Terror of Tythes," in allusion to the anxiety he had felt.[4]

[1] Dr. Johnson's life of Francis Cheynel.
[2] Preface to third edition of Jeremy White on Divine Goodness.
[3] Gangrena, p. 109.
[4] Hume says: "The Parliament went so far as to make some approaches, in one province, to their independent model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignant itinerant preachers with small salaries, were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these being furnished with horses at the public expense, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel" Chap. lx.

A collection of his works was made after his death, and published, a copy of which has fallen into our hands; but with a mutilated title page. We are obliged to give it as follows: "..... which William Earbury left upon record for the saints of succeeding ages. Being a collection of the writings of the aforesaid author, for the benefit of posterity. Whereunto is added, The Honest Heretick, being his tryal at Westminster, a piece never printed before. London, 1658."

We learn from this work that he was a native of Wales, and that he had friends and congregations among whom he itinerated, and to whom he preached in England, Wales and Ireland. He was possessed of a strong mind, and feared not the face of man, or any punishment man could inflict. Although he lived in an age of many errors, by which he would be more or less affected, yet he had an acute understanding of the gospel, remarkable for that day.

His clear views of the atonement may be seen in the following paragraph from his "Answer to the Articles and charge, exhibited against him, before the honorable committee for plundered ministers," March 9, 1652. See work first named, pp. 322, 323:

"In truth God is unchangeable in His essence, not being (as men conceive) first in love, then in wrath, then in love again; first pleased, then offended, then reconciled; but as the *atonement was not made by God, but received by men*, in the ministry of the Gospel; so it was manifested then that God was not to be reconciled to men, but men to be reconciled to God: for *God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their sins;* so that wrath is not of God's part, but of man's, men being *by nature children of wrath*. Not that God hath wrath to any man (as man to another) but men *naturally apprehending wrath in God* do fear and fly from him, as fallen Adam did, (though God fled not from him, but sought him out:) likewise *man's punishment or the plagues of God are called God's wrath*, which men feeling without or within fall to enmity against God (though God be no enemy to man.) But when the grace of God that bringing salvation to men appeareth, then the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man so appeareth in the death of Christ given for all, for the ungodly, and for the unjust, that all enmity

is slain thereby; for if being *enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by His life;* and so 'tis not the death of Christ only, but the life of Christ in God, revealed in us by the spirit, that must save us.

This is the satisfaction of Christ's death, as founded on God's love, in which death the Father's justice, *and good pleasure was satisfied*, and the Son *satisfied to finish it with blood*, by which the saints *sprinkled by the spirit are sweetly satisfied*, and when the world shall be saved thereby, *or all the ends of the earth see the salvation of our God, then all men shall be satisfied.* And I hope by this *your honors are satisfied also.*" pp. 322, 323.

FIRST FRUITS AND THE HARVEST.

From the same work.

"But as God yet dwells only in the saints, or is manifest in their flesh only; the saints in a special manner being called the house of God, his holy temple, and habitation of His holiness, the holy of holies wherein all His glory appears, and to whom all His secrets are revealed and made known; therefore, though God shall be so revealed to all, that all flesh shall see his glory together; yet the saints shall first appear in glory, and God's appearance be first manifested in them, they being therefore called, *the first fruits of the creation*, that is, of all mankind, who are indeed the lump and full crop; and, therefore, are as holy in God and with God, as the first fruits, as the saints here; for though these are holy, elect, and beloved of God in his first appearance; yet, when God or Christ in us shall appear the second time without sin to salvation, then no sin, nothing but salvation shall appear, as we shall show another time; and, therefore, as no man is holy now, but God only, the *holy, holy, holy;* so all men are holy in God, *for the earth is full of his glory;* as yet indeed the saints are called, *holy men of God*, not in respect of God, but in relation to men, in whom God is not yet manifest; so the saints are called the elect and beloved of God; not but that God loves every man, as the Scriptures speak of the kindness and love of God to all men; but all men having not God manifest in them, nor his love made known to them, are said to be hated, condemned and damned, because that His love, their life and salvation is not yet manifest to them; so they are said to be under wrath, under the power of death, darkness, and of the devil, the devil dwelling in them, and working in them; not as if all men were not of God, and God the Father of all, and all men the offspring of God, God dwelling in them, and they, being in God, as living in him, moving and having their very being in God, Acts xvii. 27, 28, 29. But, these being yet under the power of death, and dark appearing of God, that is, the devil; God hath chosen a company of men, to whom he will first manifest all his love, light, life, glory, salvation, and himself to them, dwelling in them. These are, therefore, called the holy, the elect, and the house of God." pp. 20, 21.

EXTRACTS, SHOWING EARBURY TO HAVE BEEN A UNIVERSALIST.

"The more glorious any deliverance is, which God will manifest in and by His appearance in the saints, the more general and public the deliverance will be, not of a King or Parliament, but of the kingdom and people, yea, of all people also at last; for as Christ is the Saviour of the world, and of all men; so the saints shall be saviours in like manner, that is, God in the saints shall appear as the Saviour of all men, when the appearance of the great God and Saviour shall be manifested in them; for this is Christ, and the appearance of Christ. Therefore, the saving of a particular person, of a King or Parliament, is but a false Christ, as I said before, in respect of the salvation of kingdom and people, which God in the saints appears for." p. 26.

"But who hath despised the day of small things? What man dares despise the beginnings of God? The first breakings forth of his glory, and of that glorious liberty of the sons of God, yea, of the sons of men? For the whole creation, all mankind shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, Rom. viii. 21, from all oppression, not only in the spirit at last, but in the letter also from all visible oppressors." p. 32.

"God may bring forth His glory before all men, or that glory may be exalted above grace, the glory of God above the glory of the best men. This is a strange and secret thing, a thing that I never spoke of before, nor knew till now. 'Tis written, Isaiah lx. 5, The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; that is, all men at once shall see the glory of God. Why so? for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it; that is, God will do what he says, that's more than good men will do; but God alone can do what he speaks, even bring forth his glory before all men, that all may see it." p. 175.

"What gospel or glad tidings is it to tell the world, that none should be saved but the elect and believers? whereas Christ came to *save only the lost*, giving a word of life to all men, that they *might believe*, or *shutting up all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all*, Romans xi. 32." p. 119.

"For the mystery of God shall be finished, fully known, and the angel swears by God, that time shall be no more; for all shall be taken up into eternity, into God himself, and God shall be in all." p. 244.[1]

RICHARD COPPIN, DEFENDS UNIVERSALISM.

IX. But one of the most painful instances of determined malice which it becomes our duty to record, occurs in the

[1] The following named work has reference to Mr. Earbury: "Truth Triumphing over Error and Heresy; or, a Relation of a Disputation at Oxon in St. Mary's Church, between Mr. Cheynel and Mr. Earbury a Socinian." London, 1646.

persecution of Richard Coppin. Gifted with an inquiring mind, he renounced successively the doctrines of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and listened for a time to the preaching of the Independents and Anabaptists. From the latter he may have received the first hints of the doctrine of Universalism; but he soon seceded from that class on account of some differences of opinion, and stood forth as a public defender of the doctrine of the restoration of all things to God, which was his distinguishing sentiment. He lived at this time in Berkshire, where he wrote a book, entitled "Divine Teachings." Opposition at home drove him abroad; and he declared, by preaching and writing, both in public and private, and from house to house, as well as in Churches, streets and market-places, the doctrines he believed. "From all that we can collect concerning this writer, it appears that he was a man of unusual strength of mind, but without the advantages of literature; that he possessed a fervid and lively imagination, and exercised it in giving allegorical interpretations of the Scriptures, of which method of treating the word of God, he seems to have been excessively fond; that he held many public disputations with the clergy of the established Church, which circumstance shows that he was not considered beneath their notice, and that they viewed him as rather dangerous to their schemes of divinity; that he was calumniated and persecuted for his religious opinions, suffered much in support of the doctrine that he had espoused; and finally, it appears, that he believed in the immediate happiness of mankind, when death dissolves the earthly tabernacle."[1] Coppin's habits were those of his time. It was an age of contention, of severity, of fanaticism; and it is not to be wondered at that he partook of

[1] See an account of Coppin, by Rev. Edward Turner, published in Evangelical Repertory, p. 122. Mr. Turner was in error in supposing that Coppin held disputes with the clergy of the Established Church, if he meant the Episcopal clergy; his opponents principally were of the Presbyterians and Independents.

the common feeling. He believed himself divinely illuminated, and claimed to know the true sense of the Scriptures by the operation of the divine Spirit upon his mind. What he believed he defended; he loved the truth; and in the midst of strong opposition he quailed not.

IS INDICTED AND TRIED AT WORCESTER.

X. The Clergy, finding that his labors drew many of their people away, made complaint against him, and obtained a warrant to bring him before a justice of the peace, on an accusation of blasphemy. He was bound over to the next Assizes at Worcester, where he was tried before the Lord Chief Baron Wilde. In the indictment, he was charged, among other things, with believing that "all men whatsoever shall be saved, that there shall be no general day of judgment." He made his own defence, avowing and proving his belief in Universal Salvation, and maintaining that men are judged on the earth, by the power of Christ's spirit and truth. He had been preaching at Emload in Worcestershire, to which place he had been invited by some of the eminent men of that parish, where he continued for the space of four days, with the consent of the clergyman. But the people adhered to him so much, that the wrath of the clergyman was excited, who called in his brethren from the neighboring parishes to his help. They disputed with Coppin, but gained no advantage; and finally, to gratify their disappointment and revenge, they obtained a warrant for his arrest on a charge of blasphemy. Upon his examination he was bound over to the Assizes at Worcester, where he appeared on the 23d day of March, (1651,) in the presence of his clerical accusers.[1] They had drawn up the form of the bill of indictment, which they presented to

[1] Rev. Ralph Nevil, of Emload, and Rev. Giles Collier, of Blockly, were the leaders in this prosecution.

the Grand Jury, who so found it and returned it to Court. The following is the charge, as given in Coppin's words :

1. "That I should say, that they were evil angels, (meaning the ministers who preach the Gospel of Christ,) that told people of damnation, and that such ought not to be heard or believed.
2. That all men whatsoever shall be saved.
3. That those who heard me were all in heaven and in glory.
4. That God was as much in them as in Christ.
5. That the day of judgment was begun 1600 years ago.
6. That there was no general day of judgment.
7. That there was no heaven but in man.
8. That he that thought there was a hell, to him there was a hell; but he that thought there was no hell, to him there was no hell." [1]

Such was the indictment. On his trial his accusers produced a book written by him, entitled, "Man's Righteousness Examined." The judge read several parts of it to see if the prisoner would acknowledge them as his own; all which (says Coppin) I answered and owned to be mine as it was read. Then said the judge, this book makes more for him than against him; for you accuse him of denying heaven and hell, when he acknowledges both in his book; which book the judge put in his pocket and so came to the indictment."

As to the first charge, Coppin maintained that there was a dispensation of truth and a dispensation of error in the world; that those who preach the love of Christ to all people appear to be good messengers, or angels, and ought to be believed, and that those are evil angels, or messengers who preach up sin unpardoned, and hold forth damnation for any people any longer than while they believe not.

He acknowledged, under the second charge, that all men shall be saved, and quoted in proof of it, 2 Samuel xiv. 14; 1 Timothy ii. 4–7; Romans v. 18; xi. 32. He affirmed that in preaching that all men shall be saved, he only declared what he found in the Bible. "But my

[1] See "Truth's Testimony." p. 31.

accusers (said he) were troubled, and thought my answer too large, and the time too long that I had to plead; who told the judge that my lungs were so strong, that if he suffered me still to go on, I would never have done; but the judge honestly reproved them, saying, that he had heard *them*, and was now to hear *me*, who bid me go on."

When he came to the fifth point in the indictment, (viz. that the day of judgment was begun 1600 years ago) he said: "My Lord, according to Scripture acceptation it was so; for, said Christ, "Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out; and for judgment am I come into this world (said Christ) that they which see not might see; and they which see might be made blind; and this coming of Christ to judgment according to the Scripture, was above sixteen hundred years past, and yet is continued to this day, though most men are blind and yet see it not. . . . . And the apostles said that the time was then come that judgment must begin at the house of God, even with righteous men, or men under any form of religion, that had anything of their own righteousness to trust in, besides Christ, their righteousness."

In the sixth place he was charged with holding to no general day of judgment; and on this point he said, "My Lord, I know no other day of judgment as to me, than what I have already declared to your lordship, which is to be the same with every creature before it can be finished; and this may be said to be a general day, wherein all men are to appear before Christ, to be judged by him in love, for the time is come, &c. And though this time of judgment may be called a day, yet this day may be thousands of years before all the world in every man may be judged, all sin and transgression finished as to them, and they all set free in the Lord, for a day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day, &c., &c.

In regard to the allegation that he had preached "*that there was no heaven but in man,*" he said "those words do not say there is none at all, but that it is in man, yet without confinement, and this the Scripture also declares; therefore, if we would know where heaven is, let us first know what it is? The Scripture tells us, that the kingdom of heaven is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and that it is within us; for when the Scribes and Pharisees came to Christ to demand of him when the kingdom of God should come, (as men still do,) he answered them that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say lo here, or lo there; for behold the kingdom of God is within you," [1] &c., &c.

We are obliged to pass over much that Coppin said in his defence, lest we give to this case, interesting as it is, too large a share of room. So strong was the public prejudice against him, that the jury were not free from it, and they rendered a verdict of *guilty.* The Judge was astonished at the verdict, and asked on what part of the indictment the prisoner had been convicted. They replied, "Of that concerning heaven and hell." He replied, "that it could not be found as blasphemy;" and calling for the statute and comparing it with the indictment, he said, "he that shall avowedly affirm and maintain that there is no heaven and hell, commits blasphemy by that act; the prisoner doth not say, but doth acknowledge there is a heaven and hell in man, as you see him prove, and, therefore, doth not affirm there is none at all." [2] But the Judge, thinking it prudent to set aside the verdict, ordered that the prisoner shall continue bound till the next assizes. But when the time came, his accusers were not ready to appear against him; and petitioned the court, that he

[1] See "Truths Testimony." pp. 33–43.

[2] The law of August 9th, 1650, made it a crime worthy of imprisonment to affirm that there is neither heaven nor hell;" and it seems to be this passage of which the Judge gave a construction.

might be bound over to appear at Oxford Assizes, six months from that time.

We next find him at Oxford, before Sargeant Green, on March 10, 1652. The charges in the indictment were,

1. "That Christ died for his own sins, as well as the peoples.
2. That there is no heaven and hell, but what is in man.
3. That everlasting life shall end in this life."

The charges were supported by the oath of a Rev. Mr. Beckingham, of Euston, in Oxfordshire, in whose church Coppin had preached, who also brought some of his congregation to swear to the same points. On the part of the prisoner, certificates were presented to the court, that he was a man of strict virtue, and of sober and discreet life.[1] He pleaded his own case as on the former trial, taking the same ground as before. In respect to hell he said, "there

[1] *A copy of a Certificate presented to the Court, by many of the godly and well affected people living about Euston, in behalf of Richard Coppin*:

We, whose names are here under-written, were all at the hearing of Richard Coppin, the time when he preached at Euston, and heard all that was then delivered; yet heard not anything delivered by him, but what was truth, according to the Scripture and our experience, and should be glad to embrace the like opportunity, as to hear the like again, if Providence should so order it. And whereas (though the mistake of some men in their apprehensions) he is or may be accused for anything then delivered; as, first, for saying, *That Christ should suffer for his own sins as well as the peoples.* We do hereby certify that he, at that time, did again and again say, that Christ suffered not for them as acted by him, but as imputed to him, and so they became his; which he proved from these Scriptures. *He was made sin for us;* and, *The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all.*

And, secondly, that he should say, *There is no heaven and hell but what is in man.* He did not, but did prove from Scripture that there was a heaven and hell in man, not denying any other, which by others might be believed, as to them.

And, thirdly, that he should say, *That everlasting life should end in this life.* He did not; but said, That there was that written in Scripture. Such was said to be everlasting, yet had an end; as he proved from the ending of the first Covenant and Priesthood under the Law, with the conditions thereof; which was said to be forever.

And, fourthly, as to his life and conversation, it hath been so civil, honest and respectful towards all men, for all that ever we saw or knew of him, that none ever yet could accuse him; and, therefore, we do believe, that for the good that is in him, and proceeds from him, to the edifying of many people, he is hated and persecuted. To all which par-

is a hell also for the wicked, in which they are and shall be tormented with the devil and false prophet; but for the place, what and where it is, so far as the Scripture is silent upon it, we are to be silent, and cannot determine it any further than the Scripture doth." Again, "That there is a heaven, wherein eternal life is enjoyed by Christ and all his; and there is a hell, wherein everlasting punishment is inflicted upon the devil and all his. But let us use *the Scripture expression of it*, if we shall declare it, which is according to the mind of God."

The Judge, in his charge, evidently took ground in favor of the prisoner; but still the jury brought him in guilty, being overawed, as Coppin alleged, by the clergy, who followed them, "saying they were not to take notice of what the judge had said, neither of my answer, but the bill." The judge, however, would not sentence the prisoner, believing his accusers and the jury all to be moved by malice, but bound him over to the next assizes, to their great disappointment and anger. He appeared the second time at Oxford, before Judge Hutton; but his accusers came not; and when proclamation was made for his discharge, one Kent, sheriff of the county, desired to declare something about Coppin, which he had spoken in London; but when he was asked what it was, no particular could be mentioned, but said he had heard very strange

ticulars, we have here subscribed our names and shall be ready to take our oaths. *Truth's Testimony*, pp. 55, 56.

A copy of a Certificate presented to the Court, by many of the godly and well affected people of Oxford, in the behalf of Richard Coppin:

We, the inhabitants of the city of Oxford, whose names are here underwritten, do hereby certify, that Richard Coppin hath several times preached in Oxford, and hath been heard by us; who never heard anything delivered by him, to our knowledge, but what hath been true and sound doctrine, according to the Scripture, and the manifestation of God to us. And we do also certify that his life and conversation hath ever been towards all sorts of men, honest just and upright, that ever we could see, know or hear of him. Concerning which, we have here subscribed our names, and shall be also ready to testify upon oath. *Truth's Testimony*, p. 57.

things declared by me at St. Dunstan's Church in London, before a great congregation of people of great quality, to the great dishonor of God," &c. But the court paid little attention to what he said, and Coppin was discharged. He afterwards made a memorial to the Lord Protector, setting forth the persecutions he had suffered for preaching the doctrine of Jesus.[1]

IS INDICTED AND TRIED AT GLOUCESTER.

XI. The malice of Coppin's enemies did not permit him to remain long at peace. On Lord's day, March 19, 1653, he was at Stow, in Gloucestershire. He attended the Church, and heard Rev. Mr. Elmes, of Winchcombe, in the morning, who preached, as Coppin's says, "something contrary to truth." By permission, Coppin addressed him a question, which so enraged two justices of the peace, members of that congregation, that they ordered the constables to arrest him, and carry him to the house of the clergyman. There they met him, and desired to know whether he believed in "a God and devil, a heaven and a hell." He affirmed that he did believe in all; and that though there were lords many and gods many, there was but one true God, whom men did most ignorantly worship. They then asked him, "whether God would save all men or no." He replied, that what the Scripture said he would say, and the Scripture said of God, that he will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth, &c.; but we see not yet all men saved, for all men have not this testimony, or do not yet believe; for he that believes not is condemned already, and he that doth believe hath the witness in himself; this witness is Christ. Thus they continued for some time, asking him questions.

In the meantime the people had gathered in great numbers to hear Coppin at the afternoon service; no house was

[1] See "Truth's Testimony." pp. 50–77.

able to contain them ; and before one o'clock they assembled in the street. He addressed them. He urged them to resort to no measures contrary to peace. He called on the officers to take notice of any who made disturbance. He then commenced his discourse and had preached for about half an hour, when Elmes, the minister of the parish, and the two justices before mentioned came riding into the crowd on their horses, endangering the lives of the people. They laid hands on Coppin, and commanded the people to assist, which they refused, believing the justices and the clergyman to be the real disturbers of the peace. It happened unhappily that there were two mastiff dogs on the ground, who were incited by the disturbance, greatly increasing the danger and alarm. Coppin, however, was at length arrested, forbid preaching for that day, and on the morrow he was brought before Mr. Justice Crofts, by whom he was bound over to appear at Gloucester Assizes.

On the 22d of July, 1654, Coppin made his appearance at Gloucester Assizes, expecting a trial. His enemies, however, were daunted. They were evidently a furious, imprudent and bigoted class of men. They seem to have felt that they had not a strong cause. The Justices who had holden him to bail, and many of the clergymen of the County were there, but they knew not what to do. They dare not themselves make oath to the charges they had brought against him, and without that proof the court could not proceed. "But my accusers," said he "not yet knowing with what more to charge me, desired to know of the court if they might not indict me for disturbing their ministers in the church. The court answered they could not do so, the minister having done before I began, and therefore it could not be proved any disturbance. But (said the court) if you can select anything from the books which you say are his, and prove it to be blasphemy, you may indict him." Whereupon they desired longer time,

until Monday, which the court granted. But when Monday came, although they had unquestionably spent the Sabbath in seeking out matters of complaint against him, they had nothing to offer which the court would allow to be a ground of action; nor could the jury find any bill, since the accusers refused to make oath to their allegations. At this juncture he rose, and desired permission of the Court to speak. He gave an account of all the transactions against him, and alleged his opposers to be guilty of the disturbances they had charged upon him, which he had witnesses present to prove, if the court desired to hear them. But the judge answered that he was already satisfied that the prisoner and not his accusers was the injured party, and therefore desired no further witness.[1]

DISCUSSION IN THE CATHEDRAL AT ROCHESTER, KENT.

XII. Coppin still persevered in defending what he believed to be the truth as it is in Jesus. We hear of him in the month of December, 1655, as preacher at the Cathedral Church, in the city of Rochester, county of Kent, in earnest dispute with the opposers of Universalism of that day. His first debate was on Monday the third of that month, with Rev. Walter Rosewell, and there were present the Mayor of the city, and Captain Smith, of the army, as judges and to keep order. Coppin commenced with prayer, his opponent refusing to join, who, after Coppin's prayer was ended, offered up one himself. The first part of the debate was as to the manner in which Christ bore the sins of the people. But in the second part they came to the subject of Universalism as follows:

Rosewell. He that doth perswade people to believe that all men shall be saved, he is a perverter of Scripture, a Blasphemer of Christ, and a venter of damnable errors; but you do so: ergo.

[1] See "Truth's Testimony." pp. 79 - 88.

Coppin. I denie your major Proposition, as to Blasphemy, therefore prove it.

Rosewell. By the way, take notice, he doth go about to maintain that all men shall be saved.

Coppin. I do not yet tell you what I maintain; but I put you to prove that part of your major Proposition.

Rosewell. He that perswades people to believe that which the Scripture doth flatlie contradict; he is a perverter of Scripture, and a Blasphemer of Christ; but this, that all men shall be saved, is flatlie contradicted by Scripture; Mark xvi. He that believes shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.

Coppin. I shall answer your Proposition by another; whatsoever is the will of God, is not Blasphemy to affirm; but the will of God is the Salvation of all men, therefore to say that all men shall be saved, is not Blasphemy; and I prove it in the first of Tim. ii. 4. I will, saith God, that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. And it will be necessarie for you to declare what this Salvation and Damnation, is, which you speak of also, when it is, and where it is; for I acknowledge that he that believes shall be saved, and he that believes not, is condemned alreadie.

Rosewell. This damnation is that of the soul; when it is separated from the bodie: Secondly, when Christ shall come generallie at the last day, when the whole world of Reprobates shall be cast into that lake of fire, which doth burn with brimstone, out of which there is no Redemption.

Coppin. Pray, prove that from thence there is no Redemption.

Rosewell. Mat. xxv. The blessed shall go into everlasting life, and the wicked into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.

Coppin. I do also say, that the righteous shall have everlasting life, and the wicked shall have everlasting torment; but that doth not prove that there is no Salvation or Redemption out of hell, for the word *everlasting*, doth signifie for the time during, such a dispensation or administration of God to man; therefore, if you have any Scripture to prove that there is no Redemption out of hell, as you have often made the people believe there is not, produce it now; or else friends never believe him, nor any of your Teachers more when they tell you so, except they can prove it by Scripture: And trulie Sir, I had thought you had been a man better learned in Scripture than you are; and seeing you cannot bring any proof for what you have said; I shall go on, and prove by Scripture, that from that hell (the Scripture makes mention of) there is Redemption.

Rosewell. You do bring Scripture but to little purpose; only to glose your errors.

Coppin. David saith, *Thou hast not left my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption;* which shews, that there is a coming out from thence: And in Amos ix. 2; *Though they dig down into hell, thence shall my hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down:* So that the Lord will

have men to come in his way; and not their own; that they shall come to heaven, but through hell.

Captain Smith. Mr. Coppin, pray prove how the word *everlasting* shall have an end, before you go any farther.

Coppin. I shall do it from the xvii. of Genesis, where God saith to Abraham, *I will make with thee an everlasting Covenant,* and saith God, this is the Covenant I will make with thee; *Every male shall be circumcised:* And this Covenant upon these conditions did last but for a time, for we read, that God did afterwards make a new Covenant with us; that should never be ended. So in like manner the Priesthood of Aaron and his Sons was call'd an *everlasting Priesthood;* and yet that had an end, and was changed into the Priesthood of Christ, that abideth forever and ever; and we are said to be changed from one everlasting to another everlasting; which shews there are more everlastings then one, so that one everlasting is but the time during, of the same dispensation, under which we are for a time, until our change comes. — *See Truth's Triumph,* pp. 7–9.

Again, on Sunday the ninth of December, Coppin was involved in a dispute in the Cathedral, with Rev. Daniel French, minister of Strand. Mr. Coppin came to the place to preach his morning sermon, and Mr. French having left his own congregation, propounded before sermon a question which produced the debate. In the course thereof Mr. French said:

Whereas Mr. Coppin was pleased the last Dispute, that out of hell there was redemption, and he brought the words of the Prophet David, when he saith, Thou wilt not leave my soule in hell, nor suffer thy Holy One to see corruption; This is not meant hell, but the grave, for hell hath severall acceptations; sometimes it is taken for the grave; as in this place, and not of hell; as you would have it; another Scripture you brought in Amos the ix. 2, in which I am of my Brother Rosewell's opinion, and not yours; for that doth not prove redemption out of hell, but a coming to judgment soule and body at the last day, to receive the sentence of eternall damnation in hell, where the worm never dies, from whence there is no redemption.

Coppin. Prove that out of hell there is no redemption, your Brother Rosewell could not.

French. I prove it, Matthew xxv. These shall goe into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternall.

Coppin. That proves it not, for they may goe into that which is everlasting punishment, and yet come forth.

French. I deny it; though you say the word everlasting hath an end, and that Scripture which you brought in Gen. xvii. concerning the first Covenant, that it was everlasting, and had an end, when the second came, I deny, for it was all but one Covenant, and everlasting

is for ever; but I am sorry to see so many people here deluded with such errors.

Coppin. Sir, you say but what your Brother Rosewell hath said alreadie, which I then answer'd, and you understand not; for the first Everlasting Covenant, as to the conditions thereof, which was the works of the Law, had an end, as to us; when God made with us a New Covenant; upon better conditions, without end, though to Him the first and the last is all one; and where you have the word everlasting, or for ever, go single, there it may sometimes be said to last but for time; age; or dispensation; but where it is from everlasting to everlasting, and for ever and ever, there it is world without end.

French. I say there is no end of the punishment in hell for the wicked, where the worm never dies, nor the fire goes out; but the wicked persons of men shall be tormented eternally in the flames, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.

Coppin. I denie that men shall be eternallie in it, though the fire itself be as eternal as God; for God himself is this consuming fire, when it meets with that which is to be burnt; and this fire is to try everie mans work, of what sort it is; and he being refined, as having all his sins burnt up within him, by the spirit of burning, he shall come out of the fire of Gods anger, as one purged and made white, yet the fire remains the same still in itself, as in God, and man while in it, is said to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire, as of God, so long as there is anything of dross, wood, hay, or stubble in man; for the fire to take hold of, till all be consumed; as the Sea, it is alwaies full of water, and never emptie, and man may go into the water to wash himself, and after come forth, yet the sea remains still the same, as before, as that which man was in, but now is forth, so is this eternal fire, which everie man is to pass through before he is refined, and it were well with you if this fire had laid hold on you; for then you would be the purer, and the sooner come forth.

French. I do not believe that he that is once in it; shall ever come forth; for out of hell there is no redemption, and 'tis horrible blasphemie to say it.

Coppin. You have no Scripture to prove it, and I see you understand it not; but I prove that David while he lived was shut up in it for sometime, and could not come forth; the wrath of God lay so hard upon him; as you may read in Psalm lxxxviii., beginning at the 6th verse; Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit; in darknesse, in the deep, thy wrath lieth hard upon me; and thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves, thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me, thou hast made me an abomination unto them. I am shut up, and I cannot come forth. This was David's hell here on earth.

French. But hell in some places is taken for the grave, and some for hell, and David speaks of the grave.

Coppin. What do you mean by grave?

French. Why, the grave of earth that men's bodies are buried in

Coppin. But David was in this grave when he said it, and yet

in his bodie on the earth, and not in the grave as you call so, therefore pray let me ask you one question; If hell in some places be taken for the grave, as you say it is, (though hell and grave are but differing terms in Scripture) pray what is it taken for in Hos. xiii. 14, where God saith, I will ransome them from the power of the grave, I will redeem them from death: O death I will be thy plagues, O grave I will be thy destruction, repentance shall be had from mine eyes: — Pray tell me what is meant here?

French. I am not minded to tell you.

Coppin. Then 'tis because you cannot; therefore I will tell you; by the grave is here meant hell; which God will destroy in redeeming us from it, For, saith he, I will ransome them from the grave, I will redeem them from death; O death I will be thy plagues, O grave I will be thy destruction: God will destroy that death and hell which destroyed us; which we through fear thereof were all our life time subject to bondage, for they came together, and shall end together; as two companions. Rev. x. 14, And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire; this is the second death, and the last enemie to be destroyed; but what this lake of fire and brimstone is, the Prophet Isaiah tells you: Isa. xxx. 33, Tophet is ordained of old, yea, for the King it is prepared; he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; and the breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it. — *See Truth's Triumph*, pp. 17–19.

Rev. Walter Rosewell, not content with his former disputation, attempted once more, viz., on the eleventh of December, to refute Mr. Coppin. We pass over what was said on this occasion; and advert to the dispute which took place on the thirteenth, begun by Rev. William Sanbroke and continued by Rev. Walter Rosewell, on the one part, against Mr. Coppin on the other, in the Cathedral at Rochester. This debate was very spirited:

Sanbroke. Mat. xxiii. 14: Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; how will you escape the damnation of hell; and therefore you shall receive the greater damnation.

Coppin. Christ was then a fulfilling the Law, which the Scribes and Pharisees did exercise upon the people; as a burthen too heavie for them to bear; for which several woes of damnation were pronounced against them, and to be fulfilled upon them in that generation; and Christ speaks not of eternal damnation, but of degrees of damnation; as of greater and lesser; that should come upon them for their hypocrisie among the people, and their not believing the glad tidings of the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, which Christ told them was revealed to them; and which would suddainlie come unto them; yea them in that generation to whom damnation was then

threatened; and they, hearing of this, demanded of Christ the time when the Kingdome of God should come; for which they then waited and hoped for; and Christ answer'd and said, The kingdom of God comes not with observation, neither shall they say lo here, or lo there, for behold the Kingdome of God is within you; yea, within you Scribes and Pharisees, though you shut it up against yourselves, and others, which many people also do now, for which their judgment of long time lingereth not; and their damnation slumbereth not, but is so much the sooner, and the greater unto them. And, therefore, that forenamed place you quoted, to prove the Doctrine of Damnation, cannot be meant of eternal Damnation, since he tells them, The Kingdome of God is within them.: And this, saith he, is life eternal, to know God, the true God; and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; therefore how does this prove your Proposition; you say, they were literallie damned; and yet Christ tells them, the Kingdome of God was within them.

Sanbroke. Were they Believers, or Unbelievers?

Coppin. They were then Unbelievers, not knowing the Kingdome of God to be within them; and therefore did oppose it, but your Schools will never teach you this lesson of knowing Christ within you, which will confound all the wisdome and knowledge you there learn; for in the School of men you learn the things of men; but in the Schools of Christ the things of Christ; and you shall never learn this mysterie of Christ in you till you become Christ's Scholar.

Sanbroke. How long doth this Damnation last on them?

Coppin. So long as they do continue unbelievers.

Sanbroke. You do not understand the Text.

Coppin. You will never say that I, or any man else, do understand it, but your selves, unlesse they would understand it in your sense; for you would have people learn no farther than you teach them; but God will destroy all the teachings of men.

The learned Mr. Sanbroke's strength and lungs having failed him, Mr. Rosewell came forward once more:

Rosewell. I am sorry I must take my learned Brother's place, for I did not come here to day to speak, but to be a hearer, nor shall I desire to enter into discourse any more with this man, except the Magistrates shall call me to it; it is to no purpose; he doth but insinuate into the people, to get a party for himself; therefore as a Minister of Jesus Christ, I desire to give the people satisfaction to all that love the truth: I could say much more for my learned Brother, and I do pity him that his strength failed him; if he had his lungs and his ears as this man have, he would be able to deal with him: but I thank God I have another opportunity to speak to the people.

Coppin. Hear I beseech you; for I am now declaring the gathering together of all men in Christ to be by him brought home to the Father, and therefore mark what the Scripture saith; I will, saith Christ, seek that which was lost; and bring again that which was

driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick; and so bring them health and cure, and I will cure them; and will cause their captivity to return, and will build them up as at the first, and so cleanse them from all iniquitie.

Now that all men sined, fell, and were lost in *Adam*, none will denie, because the Scripture saith it; but that all men that sined, and were lost in *Adam*, shall again be redeemed and made righteous by Christ, that you call blasphemie; though proved by the same Scriptures and let the people judge who perverts Scripture of us two; Christ tells you, he came to seek and to save that which was lost; then as in Adam all die; even so in Christ shall all be made alive; yea; the same all that were lost in the one, are found in the other; and the Lord Jesus did declare himself to all men for this purpose, and did pray for them which were enemies to him, and had imbrued their hands in his blood, Father forgive them, they know not what they do; and my little children, saith John; these things I write unto you, that you sin not; and if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, who is a Propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world; and this, saith Paul, is good and acceptable to God the Father, who will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, But will God have all men saved, and will he save all that was lost? Yes, but man will not have it so, for he would have some of them saved, though the Lord saith, he will have all; and now for shame say no more, that Coppin onlie will have all men saved, but say also that the Lord will have all men saved, since the Scripture is so clear for it; and then Lord who hath resisted thy will, Lord let thy will be done, for of thee, and through thee, and to thee, are all things.

Rosewell. He saith all men shall be saved; but doth not know when.

Coppin. I say in due time it shall be manifest to all, for there is but the want of faith in men to believe it, which is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen, by which all men are assured, and draw nigh unto God, which in due time shall be manifest to all men.

Rosewell. I desire to have no more to do with this man; you see I hope what his aime and end is in all his discourse: You say we would hide knowledge from the people, but I wish all men did know as much of good as I doe, provided I did know no less than I doe; and I have taken a great deal of pains in my private Studies, and publique endeavors, for that knowledge I have; and if I know any easier way, I would spare my paines: You labor to bring all men off from our principles of Religion; therefore know there is many hundreds of able Ministers, and thousands of good Christians, which are furnished with arguments against you; and all the Jesuites in the world; for my part I am not worthy to carry their books after many of them, and I say you are a shame to the world; and the Turks and Papists

may laugh at us to see our division in our Church; and I would not have this Auditorie juggled out of their Faith; and if any man hath given any encouragement to such a Blasphemer as this is, let him be humbled for it, and do so no more; and I shall Preach against it to my utmost endeavour; for he doth overthrow all Ordinances of Baptisme, and Sacraments, which our Ancient Fathers have used, which he saith are not necessarie to salvation since Christ; and so is an enemy to God, Psalme xxi. 8. I will end with this; Thine hand shall finde out thy enemies that hate thee, thou shalt make them as a fiery Oven in the time of thine anger; the Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath, and the fire of hell shall devour them.

COPPIN IS IMPRISONED.

XIII. After these disputes the clergy seemed at a loss what to do. Of confuting Coppin they despaired, though four, and these probably of the greatest abilities, had made the trial publicly. They held private consultations how they might prevent his labors; and pursued their malicious intentions until he was committed to Maidstone prison in 1656. We will give the account of these proceedings in his own words:

The disputes being ended, and the Ministers not relieved, but having suffered in their principles, and losing many of their Hearers, they to regaine them againe, have with themselves, and some men called Justices of the Peace, Members of their Churches, had several private consultations together, how they might doe to dismisse me from thence of preaching any more to the people, for which, through their false information, they obtained a Warrant against me from the Committee of Kent; but I was then in London, and having notice of it, did nevertheless appear to the Warrant, being willing to answer to anything that should be laid to my charge; being also cleare and innocent in my owne spirit, of anything that I had said or done contrarie to any Law of God or man, and I being in my lodging at Rochester, on the Eve of the Sabbath at night, intending to preach on the morrow; came an Officer of the Souldierie unto me from Captaine Smith, a Captain of the Companie there quartering, that I should come before him, into whose hands the Warrant was committed, and whose Order was by the Warrant, that I must not preach on the morrow, but to continue his Prisoner till Monday, onlie I had my liberty in the meane time to go to my lodging; but the Sabbath being come on the morrow, and the people assembled together at the Cathedral, according to their former custom, I came amongst them, but a Guard of Souldiers being set in the Cathedral, I preached to the people in the Colledge-yard in the morning, and in the Fields

in the Afternoone, untill we were disturbed by the Souldiers, who did but their duty which they were commanded by the authority of the Justices, Major General Kelsie, and others for that County.

On the morrow, being Munday, and twenty fourth of December, the said Major General Kelsie, John Parker, Charles Bowles and Richard Watson, as Justices of the Peace for that Countie: also Captain Harrison, and severall Ministers, (as Informers) met together in Crowne-Inne of the City of Rochester, where they examined Witnesses, and received what informations they thought fit against me, in my absence; and having before determined amongst themselves what to doe with me, they sent for me to come before them; where Major General Kelsie, told me, that he had received information against me upon oath, that I was an enemie to the present Power, and of several Blasphemies that I had delivered in the Cathedral, to the great dishonor of God; and the seducing of many people; for which cause they sent for me: I answered, that for what might be informed against me, I knew not, but I doe know nothing that I have at any time spoke, to the dishonor of God; or against the present Power, but hath ever beene, and still am more for it, then those that doe accuse me; No, said he, you did, contrary to our orders Preach yesterday; though you were forbid: I answer, that I know no Law by which they could, as yet forbid me to Preach any than of God, that I did know, neither should I be silent so long as I had liberty, and my mouth were open; then said he, by what authority doe you come to Preach here? I answer, that I Preach by the same authority, that he himselfe hath pretended to Preach by, which is, by the power of God, and the authority of the present Government, and also in this Citie, by the desires of the people, and I preach not for tythes and yearly maintenance to be settled on me, as the Ministers of England, and of Anti-Christ do, but in love to the Lord Jesus, and his people, and then the Articles against me being read, which were very many, I desired to know my accusers, and they that had sworne against me; and I to answer to the articles: No, saith Major General Kelsie, we shall heare no answer to them at present, and so said all the said Justices, for we shall not judge of the business now, saith they, but what we doe at this time is onlie in order to a triall; I answer, that if they would not heare an answer now, I did not question but whenever I did answer, that by the wisdom and power of God which lived in me, I should be able to cleare myself upon them all.—*See Truth's Triumph*, pp. 17–19.

The result of these proceedings was that Mr. Coppin was committed to the prison at Maidstone, in the county of Kent; and whether he was subsequently released, or whether he died in jail, it is beyond our power to know. No sources of information at our command supply the

desired information. He was not a man to be put down by persecution. With a firmness equal to any emergency, with a consciousness of right that sustained him at all times, gifted with strong powers of mind and body, he was fitted to endure sufferings for the truth's sake. Notwithstanding the severity of the opposition, he was at all times milder than his enemies; and though in some cases he was apparently hard upon them, this is to be attributed more to the times than to the man. That his private life was unexceptionable, is evident from the fact, that his enemies, with all their malice, never breathed a suspicion against him, except in regard to his religious opinions. They doubtless thought of him, as was said of Daniel, "We shall not find any occasion against this man, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God." He was faultless in their sight, in all things except his faith, and his efforts to promote it. Notwithstanding the clemency of Cromwell's government to the different sects, the enemies of Mr. Coppin were so bitter and unyielding, that under some pretence, either of disturbing the peace, uttering wicked doctrines, or some like charge, he was committed to prison. His mind could not be chained. He sent out from his confinement a work entitled, "A blow at the Serpent, or a Gentle Answer from Maidstone Prison to appease wrath,"[1] in which he gave a full account of the

[1] The whole title was as follows: "A blow at the Serpent, or a Gentle answer from Maidstone prison to appease wrath, advancing itself against truth and peace at Rochester. Together with the work of four daie's disputes, in the Cathedral at Rochester, in the county of Kent, between several ministers and Richard Coppin, preacher there, to whom very many people frequently came to hear, and much rejoiced at the way of truth and peace he preached, at the same whereof the ministers in those parts began to ring in their pulpits saying, This man blasphemeth, to deter their parishoners from hearing. Whereupon arose the disputes, at which were some Magistrates, some officers, and souldiers, peaceable and well-minded, and very many people from all parts adjacent, before whom the truth was confirmed and maintained. The whole matter written by the hearers on both sides. Published for the confirmation and comfort of all such as receive the truth in the love of it. By Richard Coppin, now in Maidstone prison for the witness of Jesus. Twenty-five articles since brought against him by the ministers as blasphemy, and his answers to

debates at Rochester, and the proceedings against him. In 1659, he issued another work, "Michael opposing the Dragon," in which he defended Universalism more directly and clearly perhaps than in any other. We give but one passage and with that we close this account.

Again, you call it an error, to say all men shall be saved, but because it is so fully answered in the "Blow at the Serpent;" [one of his former works] I shall say the less here, only this, that God saith he will have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth; and if he will have it so, who then can resist his will that it should not be? and we use to say, Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is heaven; and Christ saith, He gave himself a ransom for all, and tasted death for every man; for that all were dead in sin and trespasses, that they might henceforth live unto him; and which was to be testified in due time to them; and God was in Christ reconciling the whole world to himself, not part of them, but all, even the whole world, not imputing unto them their iniquities; and Christ makes intercession with the Father for the whole world, not for some, but for all, and is a mediator for all that sinneth, and will seek and save all that Adam lost; therefore no error to say it; and whatsoever any man shall say against it is to no purpose; for the purpose of God shall stand.[2]

It ought to be stated that Mr Coppin labored in the ministry without pecuniary compensation. He coveted no man's silver or gold. Whether he was possessed of property, or was fed and clothed by the voluntary gifts of the people, we know not; but he refused a salary for preach-

them, how he was committed without examination, and by whom. London, 1656." This was a huge title and shows the practice of the times in these matters. The work was replied to by one Edward Garland, whereupon Coppin came out with another work, entitled "Michael opposing the Dragon." London, 1659. I somewhat suspect Coppin had been delivered from prison before writing this last work, but am not certain.

[2] More than one hundred years after this was written, an edition of Coppin's works was republished in England, prefaced with a hearty recommendation by a Mr. Cayley. The celebrated James Relly, himself a Universalist, attacked them in a warm and rather bitter style, endeavoring to prove, in opposition to Coppin, the doctrine of the resurrection *of the body*, and of misery beyond death. See "The Sadducee detected and refuted, in remarks on the works of Richard Coppin," 1764.

The works of Coppin, so far as they are known, are as follows: "Truth's Testimony;" "Michael opposing the Dragon;" &c.; "The advancement of all things in Christ, and of Christ in all things;" "Mystery of Divine Teachings;" "Antichrist in Man;" "Saul smitten for not smiting Amaleck;" "A blow at the Serpent;" "Truth's Triumph;" "Christ crucified and judgment executed;" "The Saints eternal glory;" "Man's righteousness examined;" "A man child born."

ing; and in cases where the funds of the church supplied a compensation, he always ordered it distributed among the poor.

ANONYMOUS WORKS IN DEFENCE OF UNIVERSALISM.

XIV. To the account of Coppin must succeed the notice of two anonymous works, in both of which the doctrine of Universalism is explicitly asserted, and in one, at least, defended with considerable learning and force of reasoning. "*God's light declared in mysteries,*" was the title of a work in quarto, printed in 1653, of which we have been unable to obtain any information, except the following extract, said to be taken from page 12. "Now what is hell or darkness? 'Tis a separation from enjoyment that it (the soul) was capable of; that is Hell, and Devil, and Liar, and False Prophet: they shall not come forth till they have paid the utmost farthing, then shall they receive mercy. For know that God is good, and he will not punish a finite thing infinitely."[1]

Of the other work we can speak with more confidence: it is entitled, "*Of the Torments of Hell; the foundation and pillars thereof discovered, searched, shaken, and removed. With infallible proofs that there is not to be a punishment after this life, for any to endure, that shall never end.*" The author maintained that Sheol was not a place of punishment, which he corroborated by testimonies from various authors; that Gehenna, instead of being a place of future punishment, was the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem, and here again he strengthened his opinion by adducing the testimonies of several commentators, viz. Mr. Cartwright, Dr. Fulk, and Mr. Trap: he endeavored to give the true sense of the word "*everlasting;*" of the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man; of Tophet; of Isaiah lxvi. 24, and Luke v. 2; of the burning of the tares; the

[1] See Preface to 3d edition of Jeremy White on Divine Goodness.

"wrath to come;" the phrase "eternal damnation;" and the words "cursed," "reprobate," "fire," &c. Ten distinct opinions of the learned with respect to Hell were considered, as were the reasons of Mr. Leigh, of Magdalen Hall, in favor of its being a place of eternal punishment. After thus shaking the pillars of hell, he added several considerations, and other proofs more directly scriptural, against the doctrine of endless misery.

It will be universally conceded that this is a rare and curious work. It abounds in a great variety of arguments, some of them strange and whimsical, but others very cogent and convincing. The author was unquestionably a man of originality, of talent, of fearlessness, of reflection, of study, though he sometimes decided hastily, and involved himself in inconsistency. He has said enough however to accomplish fully the object proposed, viz. to *search, discover, shake and remove* the pillars of the doctrine of endless hell torments.

It should be remembered that it is nearly two hundred years since this work was written. At that time very few doubted the doctrine of endless torments; very little was understood of biblical criticism; and the most extraordinary licenses were indulged in the interpretation of the sacred writings. The reader will, therefore, wonder, not that the author was sometimes wrong, but that he was so often right; and that he grasped the whole of the subject in his mind, arriving at the same conclusions, in regard to the principal facts, to which critics of the present age have come, with all their multiplied advantages. It does not appear, however, that he was perfectly clear on all points. There are a few passages in the work which seem to favor the notion of the annihilation of the wicked. They ought not however to be understood as giving the author's opinion decidedly on that point; because in other parts of the work he openly and indisputably teaches the doctrine of universal salvation. He must be regarded as an undoubted believer in the final restoration of all mankind.

In proof of the point last stated, the following passage will be conclusive: "The doctrine of hell-torments lesseneth the goodness of God, and limits it to a few, whereas the Scripture declares it extends to all, Rom. v., the whole chapter. *The creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God,* Rom. viii. 21. The whole creation, and every creature, angels and men, Jews and Gentiles, ver. 20, Mark xvi. 15, in bondage to corruption, subject to vanity, idolatry, and delusion of the devil, who know not, nor partake of the glorious liberty of the sons of God, shall be delivered from this bondage into the said liberty; for *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself,* 2 Cor. v. 19. This is spoken to persuade them to be *reconciled to God,* ver. 20, which shows it to concern mankind. The Protestants in Poland understand by every creature, angels and men: they say there will come a time, when the angels and the wickedest men shall be freed. Origen, one of the Fathers, held, that all should at last be saved, men and devils. The generality of the Fathers held, that all souls shall be purged by the fire of the last judgment, and so pass to salvation, Moulin, p. 135. See Rom. xi. 22, 23, 27. *All flesh shall see the salvation of God,* Luke iii. 6. See 1 Tim. ii. 3–6. Isa. xlv. 17. *The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it,* Isa. xl. 5. *The times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began,* Acts iii. 21. They shall in time be delivered from their bondage, for which deliverance they groan. Are not all, angels and men, obedient or disobedient, the creation of God? If so, the worst shall partake of the liberty of the sons of God? As the whole creation came from God, (or rather is in God, for *in him we live*) it shall be taken up into the same glory. A good cannot extend too widely; the farther it extends, the better. If it be good to show mercy to some, is it not more good to *have mercy on all?* Rom. v. 18. Plato could say, God being a Supreme good, there was no envy in him

towards any of his creatures, but rather a desire that all might be made like him. This is a great and glorious discovery of God. In him we live and move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said; for we are all his offspring, Acts xvii. 28. I have wondered how the heathen poets came to know this truth; surely God did manifest it unto them. If all men are in God, all men are in Christ; for Christ saith, *I and my Father are one*, John x. 30. Also, if all men are in God, (*in him we live and move, &c.,*) then all men are in Christ; *for God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself*, 2 Cor. v. 19. All confess that all who are in Christ shall be saved: *as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. I see God is good, and doth good, and it is suitable to the being of God to do good to all, and no such torment, of such continuance, is agreeable to the mind and will of God."

In the view of this author, the doctrine of endless torments exercised a fearful influence over mankind. It is no preventive against sin; for those who have sinned with the greatest greediness have believed that doctrine; it causeth slavish fear, and he that feareth is not made perfect in love; it causeth evil and hard thoughts of God; it greatly troubles the hearts of many; it discourages the soul and hinders faith; it unfits and disables the soul in regard to every good work; it provokes to unbelief and hinders subjection to God: it causes an exceeding and unreasonable trouble of mind and melancholy; and "hath caused many to murder themselves, taking away their own lives by poison, stabbing, drowning, hanging, strangling, and shooting themselves, casting themselves out of windows, and from high places, to break their necks, and by other kinds of death, that they may not live to increase their sin, and increase their torments in hell.[1]

[1] Here we see that the same dreadful effects attended the doctrine of endless misery nearly two hundred years ago which attend it now. It was

This author seems not to have believed in any punishment whatsoever in the future state. "Sin is punished in this life to the full, if you will believe God," said he. "God did not only begin to punish sin in this life, but also finishes it in this life. . . . . There is no continuance of it after this life." He was a Trinitarian, and a believer in salvation by grace alone. But his design did not lead him to speak of his own sentiments in all particulars. The work is attributed to Samuel Richardson; but he should not be confounded with the author of Pamelia, and of Sir Charles Grandison, who was not born until several years after this time. The true author was Samuel Richardson, an eminent Baptist in the city of London. He was appointed one of the agents of the seven Baptist churches in that city, to subscribe "The Confession of faith of those churches, which are commonly, though falsely called Anabaptists, issued in 1643–4. It was signed by

William Kiffin,	Thomas Gunne,
Thomas Patience,	John Mabbat,
John Spilsberry,	John Webbe,
George Tipping,	Thomas Hillcoss,
Samuel Richardson,	Paul Hobson,
Thomas Shephard,	Thomas Goare,
Thomas Munday,	Jose Phelps,

Edward Heath."

It was to this confession that Dr. Featley replied, in a work that was famous in its day, entitled the "Dipper Dipt." Mr. Richardson replied to Dr. Featley.[1]

then the cause of anxiety, despair, and suicide, as we suppose it always was before, where fully believed, and as we know it has been of late years. Let posterity know, that within the last thirty years, there have been a large number of suicides which must be attributed to the doctrine of endless torment. That doctrine makes men melancholy; it drives them to despair; they know not what to do; and they sever the brittle thread. Fathers and mothers, in repeated instances in the United States of America, have murdered their children, lest they should grow up, and commit sin, and be damned endlessly.

[1] See "A brief History of the Rise and Progress of Anabaptism in Eng-

"The Torments of Hell," &c., was replied to.

First, By Nicholas Chewney, who wrote a work, entitled "Hell's Everlasting Torments Asserted," London, 1660. It is described by Brandon, (of whom we shall speak in the following paragraph,) as a small work.

Second, By John Brandon. He was of Oriel College, Oxford, a clergyman of the Church of England, and rector of Finhamstead, Berks. His work, which appeared in quarto in 1678, was entitled, *ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ*, or Everlasting Fire no fancy, being an answer to a late pestilent pamphlet, entitled "The Foundation of Hell Torments Shaken and Removed," wherein the author had labored to prove, that there is no everlasting punishment for any man (though finally wicked and impenitent) after this life. His considerations considered and his cavils confuted, together with a practical improvement of the point and the way to escape the damnation of hell." He affirms that Samuel Richardson was one of the Baptists of London, and one of the signers of the Confession of Faith, made by the Baptist churches in that city, in 1643. Brandon's work is a small quarto of 152 pages. He goes through Richardson's, taking up part after part, and replying after his own manner. His style is coarse, his spirit magisterial; and one can hardly help thinking, as he reads, that the author's

land, by John Lewis, minister of Margate, in Kent." London, 1738. See also "A General History of the Baptist denomination in America and other parts of the world," by David Benedict, A. M. Boston, 1813, Vol. i. p. 199. If we may judge from the number of Mr. Richardson's productions, he was a writer of considerable note, and of great independence in the expression of his opinions. See Phœnix, vol. ii. Universal Theo. Magazine, vol. xii. p. 177. Watts' Bibliotheca, under Richardson. The works of this author were as follows: Considerations on Dr. Featley's Dipper Dipt. London, 1645, 4to; Justification by Christ alone, a fountain of Life and Comfort. London, 1647, 4to; The necessity of Toleration in Religion. 1647, 4to; An Answer to the London Minister's Letter to his Excellency and to his Council of War; as also an answer to J. Geree's Book, &c. London, 1649, 4to: The cause of the Poor pleaded. London, 1653, 4to; An Apology for the present Government and Governor. London, 1654, 4to; Plain Dealing in answer to Mr. Vavasor, Powell and others. London, 1656, 4to; Of the Torments of Hell, &c. London, 1658, 1660, 12mo.

aim was preferment in the church, rather than a desire to spread truth and charity in the world.[1]

BOOK ENTITLED "CONSIDERATIONS UPON ETERNITY."

XV. There is another work which deserves to be noticed in this place, not for any sentiments of its own author so much as for a concession he makes in regard to the objections urged, from time to time, against the doctrine of endless torment. The work is entitled "Considerations upon Eternity," and was published in 1666. Its author says: "That God should punish the Apostate Angels and men condemned at the last day with *Eternal* punishment, this hath seemed so strange to some and so incredible, that Origen himself a man otherwise of an admirable wit, and excellent learning, very well skilled in Scripture, hath been so bold as to teach, that the Devils and the Damned after a certain time, when they shall be sufficiently purged by the fire from their sinnes, shall at length be restored to grace. . . . . This errour hath found many favourers. Certain Hereticks called the *Aniti*, have disseminated and scattered it throughout Spain, by diveres their interpretations. Some thought that all the damned, others that Christians only, etc., should be delivered at length out of Hell."

CHARACTER OF CROMWELL — HIS MEASURES TOLERANT.

XVI. When Cromwell was elevated to the Protectorship, popular zeal ran highest against the Catholic religion, and

[1] The Torments of Hell, &c., London, 1758, written by an Anabaptist (as I have been informed by a bookish man) called Samuel Richardson, who had before been author of some brief Considerations on Dr. Featley's book, entitled "The Dippers Dipt," &c.; London, 1645. The said book also was long before answered by one Nicholas Chewney, M. A., in a book entitled "Hell, with the Everlasting Torments thereof asserted. 1. *Quad sit*, That there is such a place. 2. *Quid sit*, What this place is. 3. *Ubi sit*, Where it is. London, 1660." Wood's Athenæ, Art. Brandon. In "Torments of Hell" we read that Maulin (p. 135) says the generality of the fathers held that all souls shall be purged by the fire of the last judgment and so pass to salvation.

that of the Church of England, then generally termed prelacy. It would be a difficult task to give a true picture of the Protector's character. Some historians have agreed in representing him to have been a canting hypocrite; and no one, perhaps, has done this more heartily than Mr. Hume.[1] But Cromwell has been misrepresented. His character, of late, is coming to be more generally understood. Bishop Burnet remarks, that he "was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government; and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect, on the account of heresy or falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet; and even the prejudice he had for the Episcopal party, was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church."[2] The historian of the Puritans gives him a similar character. "The Protector was a Protestant, but affected to go under no denomination or party. He had Chaplains of all persuasions; and although he was by principle an Independent, he esteemed all reformed Churches as part of the Catholic Church; and without aiming to establish any tenets by force or violence, he witnessed, on all occasions, an extreme zeal for liberty of conscience."[3] The cruel laws of the Parliament with which the reader has been made acquainted, if they had at first a little force, were soon abrogated both by the spirit of the times, and an express statute. The army, which at this time was not to be slighted in any of its requests, petitioned "that all penal statutes and ordinances, whereby many conscientious people were molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered, might be removed;"[4] but from this liberty

[1] Hume wrote with a peculiar partiality to the character of Charles I. which prevents my receiving his account of Cromwell without some suspicion of exaggeration.
[2] Warner ii. 586.
[3] Neal's History of Puritans, chap. iii.
[4] Warner, ii. 579.

Papists, and the members of the Church of England, were excluded. This petition not long after was in effect passed into a law, and thereby all the former laws against erroneous opinions, were repealed. The same toleration was provided for in the *Instrument of Government*, which was drawn up at the time Cromwell was declared Protector; in which it was provided, "that the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; that as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continue: that none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavors be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation: that such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided this liberty be not extended to Popery, nor Prelacy, nor to such, as under a profession of Christ, hold forth a practice of licentiousness; that all laws, statutes and ordinances, contrary to the aforesaid liberty; shall be esteemed null and void."[1] Thus a legal toleration was granted to all sects but Papists and the Episcopalians, who, with direct licentiousness and immorality, were the only things excepted from the benefit of this provision. Commissioners were soon appointed to examine candidates for the clerical office, and a majority of these being Independents, no one was excluded on account of belonging to those sects which had been deemed

[1] Warner, ii. 583, 584.

heretical. When, in 1657, the Parliament offered to Cromwell that system of government which they entitled the "*Humble Petition and Advice*," and which he signed and established as the Constitution of the nation, they made a like provision for the toleration of all sects excepting Papists and Episcopalians, as the following articles will show. It was ordained "that the Protestant Christian Religion, contained in the Old and New Testaments, be asserted and held forth as the public profession of this nation, and no other: that a Confession, to be agreed upon by this Parliament, be recommended to the people, and none to be permitted by words or writing to revile it: that those who professed to believe in God, the Trinity, and the Scripture, though they differed in other things from the public profession held forth, should not be compelled by penalties but protected from injuries, while they abuse not this liberty to the disturbance of the public peace; provided this liberty does not extend to Popery, Prelacy, blasphemy and profaneness; that the ministers and public preachers, who agree in the aforesaid matters of faith, shall not only have protection in the way of their churches and worship, but shall be capable of any trust or employment, though they shall not receive the public maintenance appointed for the ministry; and that all ministers shall remain disqualified from any civil employment."[1] By this toleration, the inculcation of Universalism was permitted without restraint, while to deny the doctrine of the Trinity was prohibited. Political motives probably had so great an influence in the framing of these articles that we are not permitted to award to their authors that high praise to which they would otherwise have been entitled. For if this indulgence to the various sects, sprang from a true love of religious liberty, why was so dishonorable an exception made to Catholics and Episcopalians? After all

[1] Warner, ii. 588.

however, we must praise, rather than blame the Protector for his sentiments on religious liberty. He allowed liberty of conscience to a larger extent than it had been allowed before him for a thousand years. And we shall see, in the course of this chapter, that one of his chaplains was a fervent believer in the final holiness and happiness of all men, and wrote a treatise in its defence.

CROMWELL DIES; THE RESTORATION AND ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

XVII. Cromwell lived but a few years, to exercise regal power, in the character of Protector; and being vested with the privilege of appointing his successor, he nominated, in his last moments, his son Richard to that high office. Richard, however, possessed not his father's talents; he was humane, honest and unassuming; and on the breaking out of dissentions after his father's death, he preferred rather to retire into private life, than to bear the storm of opposition and war in maintaining his dignity. The nation remained for a short time without any fixed government whatever; and finally, by the assistance of General Monk, who commanded an army in Scotland at the Protector's death, Charles II. took the throne, and *restored* the ancient order of things. As all the acts of Parliament without the consent of the King, are null in themselves, so power alone was needed to make Episcopacy in fact, what it was claimed to be by statute, the national form of church government, and the XXXIX Articles the established doctrine. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, whereby all those who refused to conform to the Established Church and worship, were rejected from her communion and emoluments, drove from their livings the Clergy to the number of two thousand, and exalted to ease and affluence those who, under the administration of Cromwell, had been coupled with Papists, and made the subjects of a particular proscription. From that time until

the present, the Church of England has maintained its alliance with the state.[1]

VANE, (THE YOUNGER,) A UNIVERSALIST.

XVIII. Sir Henry Vane, (the younger,) created a strong sensation, both in England, and in her colonies in North America. He was a truly religious man; and knew no policy save that of doing always what he thought was right in the sight of God. He was born in 1612, the son of Sir Henry Vane, a nobleman of distinction, under James I., and his successor. The son received the first part of his education in England. Although he enjoyed all the advantages of Magdalen College, he lost his membership at last, because, from theological scruples, he could not take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. He left Oxford, went to the Continent, visited Holland and France, and spent some time in Geneva. These sacrifices, which he was obliged to make for the sake of conscience, and the sympathy he felt for the Puritans, who were also suffering for their honest convictions, induced him to emigrate to New England, where he was received with demonstrations of great respect. The year following his arrival, he had the honor to be elected governor of Massachusetts. His administration was not peaceful. Although he sympathized with the Puritans in their sufferings for conscience sake, he did not agree with them in all their opinions, and least

[1] Hume, chap. lxiii. The following table will show how the national religion had fluctuated in England under different reigns:

Popery went down under Henry VIII.
Church of England established by Henry VIII.
Church of England continued under Edward VI.
Popery revived under Mary.
Church of England re-established under Elizabeth.
Church of England continued under James I.
Presbyterianism established by Parliament, during the Revolution.
The Independents succeeded under Cromwell.
Church of England re-established at the Restoration.

of all did he approve of the penalties which they inflicted upon others for honestly differing from them. When the controversy raised by the enemies of Mrs. Hutchinson broke out, concerning some speculative point in theology, the governor took ground in her favor, for he always sympathized with those who suffered for their opinions; but the majority was against her, and she was driven from the colony. Governor Winthrop was elected Sir Henry's successor; and did his competitor the honor to say, that he regarded him as "a man of wisdom and godliness." Vane and Roger Williams were the two earliest defenders of liberty of conscience on the American continent. But the former remained in America for a short time only. His friends earnestly urged his return to England, which was accomplished in August, 1637. Sir James Mackintosh said, in a speech, delivered before the "Protestant Society" in London, in 1819, that Sir Henry Vane was entitled to our admiration for an early development of the principles of civil and religious liberty. He added, "His writings are little known to the majority of readers; but he is alluded to by Hume, and his book contains the principles of religious liberty in three or four pages, in a manner clear and irrefragable."

In England, he sought the retirement of private life; but his friends felt they had need of his services and talents, and in 1640, he became a member of Parliament. He unquestionably promoted the revolution, for he was a republican; but he took no part in the impeachment and trial of Charles I. When this mournful event transpired, he returned to private life, shocked and disgusted. In this respect his life presents a parallel to that of the excellent La Fayette. Between the time of the King's death, and Cromwell's usurpation, as Vane regarded the matter, he served the Commonwealth as a member of the Council of State; and as Treasurer and Commissioner of the navy;

he had the direction of that arm of the public defence, at the time when Blake and Van Tromp contended for the mastery of the seas, and when the naval glory of England shone with unwonted splendor. When Cromwell entered Parliament, to drive it out by force, Vane remonstrated; he sought the good of the commonwealth, and not the glory of any one man. Cromwell raised his voice to a high pitch, and exclaimed, "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! Good Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." The result of Cromwell's energetic measures is known to all the world. He drove Parliament out of doors, locked the house, and put the key in his pocket. He became Lord Protector, and Vane again retired to private life. On the death of the Protector, he was brought forward once more as a member of Parliament, and by his boldness more than that of any other man, the son of the Protector was made unwilling to receive the office to which his father had nominated him. The following extract from Sir Henry's speech in Parliament, will show the decided ground he took against Richard Cromwell:

"One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognize this man as our king, under the style of Protector!—a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."[1]

[1]This speech, says Mr. Upham, may be found in a note to the article, Vane, in the "Biographia Brittanica."

Sir Henry desired to establish a purely representative republic; but his plan was incompatible with the times. The restoration of the line of kings took place; Charles II. ascended the throne; and Vane was soon brought to the scaffold. He was too great, too independent, and too good a man to be suffered to live. The King knew he could not win him over to the royal interests, and he desired to get rid of him. His judges were the mere tools of the king. Vane was, of course, condemned; and he suffered death on Tower Hill, on the 14th of June, 1662. The following is a brief account of his execution:

"Being come to the scaffold he cheerfully ascends, and being up, after the crowd on the scaffold was broken in two pieces, to make way for him, he showed himself to the people on the front of the scaffold, with that noble and Christian-like deportment, that he rather seemed a looker on, than the person concerned in the execution: Insomuch that it was difficult to persuade many of the people, that he was the prisoner. But when they knew that the gentleman in the black suit and cloak, with a scarlet silk waistcoat (the victorious color), showing itself at the breast, was the prisoner, they admired that noble and great presence he appeared with. 'How cheerful he is!' said some; 'He does not look like a dying man,' said others; with many like speeches, as astonished with that strange appearance he shined forth in." [1]

Silence being obtained, Sir Henry commenced an address to the people, but he had not proceeded far before he was interrupted; and the trumpeters who had been placed near the scaffold for the purpose, were commanded to blow aloud and drown his voice. This was done several times, as anything was being said which the officers did not desire to hear. Finding they were determined he should not be heard, he broke off by saying, "It is a bad cause, which cannot bear the words of a dying man." His last exercise was a prayer.

"At the conclusion of the prayer, and when his garments had been adjusted to receive the stroke, he looked up, and said, 'I bless the Lord,

[1] Upham's Life of Vane, in Spark's Biography, Vol. iv. pp. 357–359.

who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his name. Blessed be the Lord, that I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day. I bless the Lord, that I have not deserted the righteous cause, for which I suffer.'

As he bowed his head to the block, he uttered these words, 'Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of man, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country.' In an instant and at a single blow, the executioner discharged his office." [1]

Sir Henry Vane was an independent thinker. He was a Universalist. In his retirèment, during the protectorate, he undoubtedly read and reflected much upon the subject of religion. He was much nearer the Independents, in his views and sympathies, than to either the Catholics, the friends of the abolished Church of England, or the Presbyterians. By those who did not understand him, he was said to be an enthusiast; this was because he saw more clearly and felt more powerfully than they the truths of the gospel. He was the friend of universal toleration. His views of the character of God, and the destiny of man removed far from him the fear of death. "Death," said he, "instead of taking away anything from us, gives us all, even the perfection of our natures; sets us at liberty both from our own bodily desires, and others' domination; makes the servant free from his master. It does not bring us into darkness, but takes darkness out of us, us out of darkness, and puts us into marvellous light. Nothing perishes, or is dissolved by death, but the veil and covering, which is wont to be done away from all ripe fruit. It brings us out of a dark dungeon, through the crannies whereof our sight of light is but weak and small, and brings us into an open liberty, an estate of light and life unveiled and perpetual." [2] Who, but a believer in the final happiness of all men, could speak in this strain on the subject of death? In his dying advice to his family

[1] Upham's Life of Vane, in Spark's Biography, Vol. iv. p. 370.
[2] See Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England. New York, 1846.

he urged upon them to study well the *spirit and faith* of Abraham. He nowhere mentions that they, or any part of mankind, are exposed to endless punishments. Abraham, it is well known, believed without doubt, in the promise of God to bless all nations and kindreds and families of the earth; a fact that could not have escaped the attention of Sir Henry, and to which he may have referred, when he spoke so earnestly of THE FAITH of Abraham. "His friends told me," (said Bishop Burnet,) he leaned to Origen's notion of an UNIVERSAL SALVATION of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-existence." [1]

REV. JEREMY WHITE, A UNIVERSALIST.

XIX. Among the clergy who were excluded by the Act of Uniformity, was Jeremy White, who had been chaplain to the Protector, and preacher to the Council of State. He was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Having received an early impression from perusing the Scriptures, that God is infinitely good and benevolent, he found no satisfaction in reading various systems of divinity, all of which seemed to him to contradict the divine goodness; and this difficulty, it is said, threw him into a fit of sickness that came near terminating his life. During this

[1] Burnet's Life and Times, edition of 1840, p. 108. See also Crouch's Sermon on the Eternity of Hell Torments, Oxford, England, 1786, pp. 20, 21. This last named author says, "In the next century (from 1600 to 1700) when nothing was too absurd, either in government or religion, to want patronage, the doctrine of Origen, among a thousand wild and monstrous extravagancies, was first introduced and received here. It formed part of the unintelligible creed of Sir Henry Vane, and was taught in the court and family of Oliver Cromwell, by one of his chaplains."

The chaplain referred to above was undoubtedly Jeremy White, of whom we speak in the following section: If Mr. Crouch meant that Sir Henry Vane was the first man to introduce Universalism into England, it was a mistake. Universalism was condemned in England, as we have shown, as early as 1552, in the XLII Articles (since reduced to XXXIX). The 42d Article was entitled, "All men not to be saved at last." Why should this condemnation have been introduced, if Universalism had not previously sprung up in the kingdom?

disease he became convinced of the truth of Universalism; and the thoughts which he then had, afterwards formed the ground work of his treatise in defence of that doctrine. He is said to have been a person of great facetiousness in his conversation; and his company, on that account, was much valued by persons of high rank.

It is probable his treatise on Universal Salvation was written before old age came on; for we are informed that he at first wrote voluminously, but towards the latter part of his life, abridged the work, and prepared it for the press. Subsequently to the Restoration he preached occasionally, without undertaking any particular charge. With great pains and care he made a collection of the sufferings of the dissenters by the penal laws which were enacted in the reign of Charles II. wherein he gave an account of the ruin of several thousand families in different parts of the kingdom; but thinking it might subserve the cause of Popery, he rejected the importunity of some of King James' agents, and also large pecuniary rewards which were offered him to publish it. He died in the year 1707, aged 78.[1]

[1] This account of White has been taken from the first edition of his Treatise on Divine Goodness, and from Dr. Calamy's account of ejected ministers, printed 1713, p. 5, and in the first volume of the Continuation of said work. Both to the first and third editions of White's work (the second edition I have never seen) are prefixed valuable prefaces, containing historical traces of the doctrine of Universalism. These prefaces were the most valuable historical papers concerning Universalism that had then ever appeared, and together make quite a treatise. Although we know not by whom they were written, we are sure it was done by some person quite well qualified for the work. The first edition of White's Treatise was published without the author's name. A. D. 1712. To the second edition no date was prefixed. The title page to the third edition was as follows: "The Restoration of all Things: or a vindication of the goodness and grace of God, to be manifested at last in the recovery of his whole creation out of the fall. By Jeremy White, Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. The third edition, with an additional preface, containing quotations from divers other authors, not mentioned in the first preface, who have wrote in confirmation of the above doctrine." London, 1779. Octavo, 248 pages. An edition was published in Philadelphia, in 1844, in the Theological Library, by Gihon, Fairchild & Co., containing the historical preface referred to.

[Since the above note was written, I have fallen upon the following paragraph in the "Philadelphian Magazine," 1789, p. 416. It throws light

HIS WORK ON THE RESTORATION OF ALL THINGS.

XX. "*The Restoration of all things, or a vindication of the goodness and grace of God, to be manifested at last in the recovery of his whole creation out of their fall,*" was a posthumous work,[1] and first printed five years after the author's death. It is the earliest, full and elaborate Treatise on Universalism which has reached our times. As its title imports, its sole object is to set up and defend the doctrine of Universal Salvation, which is done entirely upon the ground of the Scriptures, according to the views its author entertained of them. He had imbibed an aversion to the Arminian principles, which, previously to the Protectorship, had been the doctrine of many of the English prelates; hence he contends strenuously for predestination, election and reprobation; and he prized his views of the final happiness of all mankind, the more highly, because they enabled him to reconcile the decrees of God with his infinite benevolence. Mr. White believed, that in the unchangeable plan of infinite wisdom, those who are elected and those who are reprobated will mutually benefit each other; the sanctification and salvation of the former are the pledge of the sanctification and salvation of the latter. He was a Trinitarian.

The plan of his work is as follows: in each chapter he produces the evidence on which he relies, and then antici-

upon the authorship of the prefaces to Jeremy White's work. "Mr. Dennis, of London, Bookseller, published several works on the subject of universal salvation, and among others, the Restoration of All Things, by Jeremy White, with a copious preface, by his own hand, in which every author of note, from the Apostolic and earliest ages, who have written on the same ground, down to Rev. R. Clarke. Unhappily Bishop Burnett's testimony was omitted, and the Rev. Mr. Winchester, &c., had not at that time received the glorious dispensation." The "Philadelphian Magazine" was a work conducted by Elhanan Winchester, when he was in England.]

[1] Besides the works already named, there appeared, "A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Francis Fuller," and "A Persuasive to Moderation and Forbearance in Love, among the divided forms of Christians." White also wrote a most excellent preface to a work entitled "The Rise, Race and Royalty of the Kingdom of God in the Soul," by Peter Sterry; 4to, printed 1683.

pates and answers objections. His principal arguments are these: God will have all men to be saved. This is a will of authority, of supreme sovereignty; it is a fixed, determinate, irrevocable purpose of him who ordains the means as well as the end. Jesus Christ gave himself a ransom for all men, without any exception; and God is the Saviour of all men, finally, in the world to come. Jesus preached to the spirits in prison, "men that were gone off the stage of this world;" and he was not unsuccessful like Noah, but reclaimed the disobedient, who lived afterward according to God in the spirit. Mercy is promised to the most rebellious of our race, and the gospel, according to the divine command, is to be preached to every creature. That all things are to be restored, is evident from Paul's testimony both to the Ephesians and Collossians:[1] we have the assurance of this truth in the character of God, who is love, whose perfections are all love, and to which his very anger is subservient; and lastly the Scriptures assure us of the complete abounding of grace over all sin and all death.[2]

MR. WHITE A TRULY DEVOUT MAN.

XXI. Jeremy White was a truly devout and religious man. His soul was filled with a fervid love to God and all men. He saw all the attributes of the divine nature centering in the love of God. The poet of more recent date, who addressed the following inimitable stanza to the Father

[1] Eph. i. 10, and Coll. i. 20, are the passages.

[2] Attached to the copy of White's "Restoration of all Things" which belongs to Harvard College Library, is the following manuscript note: "This book was greatly esteemed by Mr. Hutcheson, of Glasgow; especially the latter part of it, beginning at page 173 to the end." In that part of the work with which Mr. Hutcheson was particularly pleased, the author discusses, in a somewhat metaphysical manner, the nature of God, as being unmixed benevolence; and this benevolence he considered the source of all punishment, which hence, must be for the recovery of the sinner; he maintains also the final triumph of grace over all sin and death.

of all, expressed precisely the sentiments of that excellent man

> "But though thy brightness may create,
> All worship from the hosts above,
> What most thy name must elevate
> Is, that thou art a GOD OF LOVE,
> And MERCY is the central sun
> Of ALL thy glories JOINED IN ONE."

So believing, he held that all pure religion consisted in true piety and benevolence, but especially the latter. Every man in his view was good just so far as he resembled God; and the only way in which mortals can resemble God, is by being filled with his spirit of love. Every good man must desire the welfare of all others, and hence he must desire the salvation of all mankind. No man was worthy in Mr. White's view to be called a Christian, who did not fervently desire the salvation of all men, if it were agreeable to the will of God. To use his own words: "He is not a Christian, he is not a man, he hath put off the tenderness and bowels of a man, he hath lost humanity itself, he hath not so much charity as *Dives* expressed in hell, that cannot readily cry out, 'This is good news if it be true;' that will not say *Amen* to it, provided it be agreeable to God, and what his word will countenance and own; for under no other law or condition can we groundedly rejoice in any doctrine, than as it bears the impress and stamp of divine authority, and tends to his glory to which all must bow: for heaven itself must pass away, rather than the gospel be innovated, or another gospel broached, how gratifying or acceptable soever to our fleshly minds. Upon this supposition then, I conclude this doctrine must be acceptable and welcome to every good man."[1]

Mr. White devoutly prayed for the divine guidance in the preparation of his book. He threw himself at the foot of God's throne, and submitted all his powers to the supreme

[1] Introduction to the work.

direction of God. He said, "And here I do, in the fear of God, most humbly prostrate myself before his Divine Majesty, and in the deepest sense of my own darkness and distance from him, do with all my might beg of that infinite goodness I am endeavoring to represent to others, that if something like to this platform and prospect of things, be not agreeable to that revealed and natural light he hath given to us, that my undertaking may be interrupted, my design fall, and that the Lord would pardon my attempt: and I know he will do so, for he hath given me to have no further concern for this matter, than as I apprehend it to be a most glorious truth, witnessed to both by the Scriptures of truth, and by the most essential principles of our own reason, and which will be found so at the last opening of the *everlasting* Gospel, to recover in that opening a degenerate world. But if this be a true draught and representation of the glorious designment of the ever blessed goodness of the great God, who is goodness itself, and if the Holy Scriptures and right reason do bear witness unto it, how clear, how fair, how open lies the way before us to justify the sovereign power, and disposal of God, which he exercises by election and reprobation too, with all the methods he useth in his holy and glorious wisdom and prudence, in giving way to the entrance of sin, and then enflaming the anguish of it by the law, that he may thereby have occasion to glorify his justice and wrath against it, and so make his way to the more glorious illustration of his grace and love in the close."[1]

Mr. White, like several of the early Universalists, felt a fear that the glorious doctrine which he defended might be abused; for wicked men, even in the apostles' days, "turned the grace of God into lasciviousness." He therefore, in closing, gave sinners a faithful warning: "I cannot leave this doctrine without an alarm to sinners. Though

[1] Introduction to the work.

God be love, all love to saints and sinners, yet he can never love sin nor take the sinner into his bosom, into the eternal embraces of his love, until he hath consumed sin. Do not, then, from what you have read, be encouraged to trifle with, and slight the anger of a God. There is no anger so great, so terrible as that which flows from love, finally abused and provoked by us. There is no anger like the anger of the Lamb, the meekest of all creatures. You may read the terribleness of that anger, Rev. vi.

"It is dreadful Scripture, sinners, that tells you expressly, John iii. 36, "that the wrath of God abideth on you." I believe, through the light that God hath given me, and the love I have for you, it shall not always abide upon you; but when it will cease who can tell? I know not the season of the general visitation, though I believe it; sure I am, the fire of that anger and wrath will never go out until the fuel is burnt up."

In this frame of mind he brought his work to a close. He had written on the deep mysteries of the kingdom of God: he had portrayed the character of God in all its glory, so far as mortal comprehension can know it; he had vindicated the ways of God to men: he had done it in a spirit of deep humility and joy: he had warned sinners against an abuse of this glorious doctrine: and now, how could he more properly close his work, than by a solemn prayer for the divine blessing to succeed his labors. The last emotions of his soul, therefore, touching this matter, were poured out in the following supplication, with which it is ended: "Pardon me, O my God, if in the contemplation and experience of thy super-abounding grace to myself, I have been transported in my representation of thee beyond thy allowance. I think it impossible to exceed, when I am admiring that grace of thine, which is the highest, the sweetest, the most exalted name of that love which is thyself, and the eternal spring of all loves and loveliness. I presume not to pry into the methods of thy love, and thy

seasons for the full manifestation of it. How far thy thoughts and ways, which are thy infinite wisdom, do transcend, I know not: but sure I am, they cannot fall short of the limited perfections of thy creatures. Thou hast in thy own first make, given me a nature all disposed to love. Thou hast by thy grace heightened and enlarged that love to all thy offspring, to every thing that bears any image or stamp of thyself upon it. I could not, as I ought to do, love thee, if I did not love thee wherever I find thee. Thou hast commanded me and all thine, to overcome all the evil of this lower world with good. No evil, no injury I have met with in this unkind world, for thy sake, or upon any other account whatsoever, hath yet exceeded my love and forgiveness. Yea, thou hast made it one of my highest pleasures to love and serve enemies. Can I, then, think any evil in any of thy creatures can over set thy goodness? Thou art the highest example to them of all the goodness thou requirest us to show to one another. I must believe, then, thy grace will sooner or later super-abound, wherever sin hath most abounded; 'till I can think a little drop of being, and but one remove from nothing, can excel in goodness that ocean of goodness which hath neither shore, bottom, nor surface. Thou art goodness itself, in the abstract, in its first spring, in its supreme and universal form and spirit. We must believe thee to be infinitely good — to be good without any measure or bound — to be good beyond all expression and conception of all creatures, of men and angels: or we must give over thinking thee to be good at all. All the goodness which is every where to be found scattered among the creatures, is sent forth from thee, the fountain, the sea of all goodness. Into this sea of all goodness I deliver myself and all my fellow-creatures. Thou art love, and canst no more cease to be so, than to be thyself. Take thy own methods with us, and submit us to them. Well may we so do, in an assurance that the beginning, the way, and the end of them all is love.

To the inexhaustible fountain of all grace and goodness, from all his creatures, be ascribed all glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen. Hallelujah!"

WORKS IN DEFENCE OF ENDLESS MISERY.

XXII. [1670.] The prevalence of objections to the doctrine of endless misery, brought out this year a work in defence of that doctrine, by Richard Burthogge, M. D. It seems that this author had published, about five years before, a treatise, designed to explain and vindicate the divine goodness from the objections urged by the Atheists.[1] A friend of his wrote him that he had fallen short of the main point in this work; for it was not the objections of the Atheist against the divine goodness that were hard to be answered, but such as were founded on the presumption that God would punish sin with endless torture. "How is it consistent with divine goodness," said his friend, "to inflict infinite and eternal punishments for finite transgressions?" Stung, perhaps, with the reflection that he had left untouched the great objection to the divine benevolence, he determined on bringing out another work. He entitled it "*Causa Dei, or an Apology for God,*" &c.[2] It is, on the whole, creditable to him, showing him to be a learned man, and somewhat of a metaphysician. But the love of his theory hampered him.

[1] "Divine Goodness captivated and vindicated from the exceptions of the Atheist: wherein, also, the consent of the gravest philosophers with the holy and inspired penmen, in many of the most important points of Christian doctrine, is fully vindicated." 8vo. 1670. An account of Dr. Burthogge and his works may be found in Wood's Athenæ Oxon, Vol. ii. p. 1007.

[2] The whole title was as follows: "*Causa Dei*, or an Apology for God; wherein the perpetuity of infernal torments is evinced, and divine, both goodness and justice, (that notwithstanding) defended: the nature of punishments in general, and of infernal ones, in particular, displayed: the evangelical righteousness explicated and settled: the divinity of the Gentiles, both as to things to be believed, and things to be practiced, administrated; and the ways, whereby it was communicated, plainly discovered." London, 1675.

ANONYMOUS WORK ON UNIVERSALISM.

XXIII. We introduce in this place an account of an article to which we are not enabled to affix any precise date: it is entitled "Natural and Revealed Religion explaining each other," &c., and is to be found in the "Harlean Miscellany."[1] The author of this article was a decided Universalist; but as it had remained in manuscript in the Earl of Oxford's Library, until published in the Miscellany, we are unable to ascertain to whom it should be attributed. It is divided into two Essays, the first *showing what religion is essential to man*, and the second, *the state of Souls after death as discovered by Revelation*. A religion essential to man, the author maintains must be founded in the nature both of God and man, and cannot be opposed to either, more especially to human reason. It must embrace the fact, too, that the Deity could have no object in creating man but the diffusion of happiness, and, therefore, that he is at all times concerned for the well-being of his creatures. The second Essay he commences by representing to himself the Supreme Being, as he was, self-existent and self-happy, before the creation. God could have no motive to create man but to communicate good, and infinite goodness could be satisfied with nothing less. The effects of this goodness are never suspended, but man shares them in his punishment. Misery would never have been inflicted, unless the ultimate good will infinitely surpass the damage man may sustain from it. The Scriptures abundantly support this opinion in a variety of instances, nor are there any threatenings which, when rightly understood, are opposed to the supposition. The expressions "eternal fire," "eternal damnation," and others similar, cannot be brought forward as exceptions,

[1] Quarto edition, vol. vi. p. 39–51. The Harlean Miscellany was a collection of scarce, curious and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print, found in the Earl of Oxford's Library after his decease. It was published in 1744.

for the terms used to signify duration, both in Hebrew and Greek, are equivocal. We should determine the meaning of these words by the help of those great truths which are the foundation of all the rest, and which relate to the perfections of God, and his design in sending his Son into the world. The author shows from the Scriptures that Christ died for all men, and that all will be benefitted by his death.

In his time it had been objected to this doctrine, that it led to licentiousness. He answers, that the belief of hell torments has not prevented men from sinning, nor has it ever been so powerful a restraint upon them as the fear of temporal evils; nay, the fear of a thirty years' distemper, as a consequence of sin, would be far more efficacious in preventing it. It is strange so great an evil as eternal punishment should not induce men to take some means to avoid it; but the reason is, every one persuades himself he does not belong among the wicked for whom this sad fate is reserved; and, in fact, there is so great a disproportion between such a punishment and human works, that very few reflecting men can bring themselves to believe God will inflict it. The apprehension of a punishment which is proportioned to the offences of mankind, and is such as the Scriptures assure us God will inflict, is far more efficacious in restraining men from sin than the fear of endless torment; and while it represents the character of God in an attracting point of view, it begets in man that disposition to be like him, which of all incentives to holiness, is the most powerful. "Upon the whole," says this author in closing his article, "I know not whether any other system contains motives so efficacious for engaging mankind to walk in the ways of real holiness, any system which can make religion more venerable in the eyes even of libertines, or more lovely to the lovers of truth, that places in a clearer light the wonderful harmony of the divine

attributes, and the reasons we have to love sovereign perfection." [1]

We have no means of knowing at what time this article was composed, except by a reference made in it to the controversy between the Particularists and the *hypothetical* Universalists; and from the manner in which the author speaks of that controversy, we suppose it had been agitated when he wrote; nor does this furnish us with any certain means of ascertaining the date, since it allows us to place it any time between A. D. 1650 and 1700. We should judge, however, by the style, and manner of reasoning, that it was not written until near the close of the seventeenth century.

R. STAFFORD'S "THOUGHTS OF THE LIFE TO COME."

XXIV. There is still another work which belongs to this time, entitled "Some Thoughts of the Life to come," which appeared in 1693, written by R. Stafford. We have no account of this individual; almost all the usual sources of biography fail us when we seek to know the lives of these early Universalists.[2] We can do no more than present the following extract from the work just named:

"But God only knows what may succeed after this, when those miserable creatures have lain under condemnation and punishment a much longer space of duration than six or seven thousand years, (the ages or evers of this lower creation,) now God will look down from the height

[1] There is a striking similarity between this article, and the second volume of the World Unmasked, or the Philosopher the greatest Cheat; a work we shall have occasion to mention in a succeeding chapter. Either they must both have been written by one person, or the author of one made great use of the other, in preparing his work.

[2] There are several reasons why we find no biographies of many of the Universalists of former times. From the Reformation onward, for nearly two hundred years, they were classed among the so-called heretics; and the biographical writers of the dominant parties felt no interest in sending down to future generations accounts of either the lives or writings of these men. It should be also specially remembered, that the prospect of their writings or biographies coming down to us, was almost wholly cut

of his Sanctuary: 'From heaven will the Lord behold the earth,' (yea, and who knows whether he will behold yet lower: 'If I make my bed in hell, behold Thou art there!') — 'to hear the groaning of the prisoners, to loose them that are appointed to death.' Psa. cii. 19, 20; (in the margin there, it is *the children of death.*) This one Scripture is of more worth than ten thousand worlds. If anything of good or mitigation is intended to them, it will come in upon this account; that they are the creatures of God and his workmanship: The Lord shall rejoice in his works, and they shall reciprocally rejoice in the Lord their God. If those very creatures who seem rejected, can but call upon him by the name of THE LORD, and lay hold on him as *Esau* did when he cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, 'Bless me, even me, O my father! Hast thou but one blessing, O my father? (still putting in mind of the relation) bless me, even me also, O my father!' So it may be conceived of those condemned forlorn and miserable creatures — that after they have been long in wailing and gnashing of teeth — if they can but call upon him by the name of CREATOR, and remember and lay it before him, that they are the works of his hands; GOD hath more than one blessing to *saints* and *angels;* he may make *devils* and *condemned sinners* hewers of wood and drawers of water. 'For I will not contend forever (saith the Lord), neither will I be always wroth, for the spirit would fail before me, and the souls which I have made.'' Isa. lvii. 18. 'For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.' Rom. xi. 32.''

This author also wrote a work designed to show, that the greatest happiness man can enjoy in the present world, must be derived from a truly religious life, in opposition to the common error that a life of piety is a life of gloom and misery, and a life of sin the source of joy.[1]

off by the Restoration. That event brought Episcopacy into power again, and rendered exceedingly unpopular all the fraternities of Independents, Anabaptists, and sectaries of any other form. Had the commonwealth of England been continued to the present day, with no restriction upon the religious liberty enjoyed under Cromwell, it is possible that we might know a glorious cloud of witnesses to the doctrine of Universalism, whose histories are now lost to this world forever.

[1] This work had the following title, "Of Happiness, wherein it is fully and particularly manifested that the greatest happiness of this life consisteth in the fear of God, and keeping his commandments, in opposition to the pleasures of sin, or the pretended conveniency of disobedience." By Richard Stafford, London, 1689.

OTHERS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN UNIVERSALISTS.

XXV. The author of the preface to the first edition of Jeremy White's work (already noticed) gives the following paragraph:

"This doctrine [Universalism] has been cultivated by several others: as, SADLER, in his *Olbia;* PETER STERRY, author of *The Freedom of the will;* the author of the *Enochian walks with* GOD,[1] and the *Revelation of the everlasting Gospel Message*, to which an excellent preface is prefixed, running very deep into the *rationale* of it; as also by a Scotch gentleman, author of the *Cabalistical* epistle, printed in the *Theosophical Transactions*, No. 5, where he brings in the testimonies of the Jewish Rabbis,[2] conspiring also to the truth of this great point, with several others." Theolog. Lib. 301, 302.

John Sadler was an English writer who flourished under Cromwell. In 1644, he was made Master in Chancery, and in 1649, Town Clerk of London. The Protector offered him the place of Chief Justice of Munster, in Ireland, which he declined. He was a member of Parliament, but at the Restoration he lost all his offices, because he refused to subscribe the oath which declared it unlawful, under any pretence, to take up arms against the King. He died in 1674. We have not been able to find his "Olbia," and cannot, on our own authority, make any statement in regard to it. Peter Sterry is the same individual that we have already mentioned in a note, as the author of a work to which Jeremy White wrote "a most excellent preface."

JANE LEADLEY AND THE PHILADELPHIAN SOCIETY.

XXVI. A person by the name of Jane Lead, (or Leadley), occupied much of the public attention during the latter part of the 17th century. The Philadelphian[3] Society was

[1] The author of this work was Jane Leadley.

[2] On this matter of the Jewish Rabbis I hope to offer important facts in another place.

[3] From the two Greek words, φιλεο signifying *to love*, and αδελφους *brethren*. It is the same in its derivation, with the name of the great city of Pennsylvania.

formed by her about 1697. She was born in 1624, and lived a long life of benevolence and pious contemplation. She was devoted with great ardor to the doctrine of the *restitution* of all things. She could not believe that God would torment men endlessly. Such a dogma was so utterly opposed to her benevolent nature, she could not possibly receive it. She desired to have the kingdom of God established here on the earth. If men, she said, would but give themselves up to the influences of Christianity, they would all be united and happy. She held there would certainly be such a state of things here on earth before the end of the world.[1]

A state of things so truly happy, would be dissolved on earth, only to exist again, in absolute perfection, in the world of bliss. Such was the hope which the founder of the Society entertained in the final restoration of all fallen intelligences, a doctrine which holds an eminent place in her writings.

It does not appear that this Society ever set up a separate worship. Its principles spread silently; and there is no cause of wonder, since they were what every good man would wish to have prevail. The fortune of the founder (her husband was very rich), enabled her to publish her works, which appeared in eight volumes. Among her followers were some persons of learning; but those who were the most eminent in the defence of her opinions, were John Pordage, a physician, and Thomas Bromley, author of some works in English, which, being translated into the Dutch and German languages, made proselytes in those countries. Jane Leadley died in 1704. Her life was written by Dr. Lee. William Law was afterwards much affected with this lady's opinions.

The Philadelphian Society did not aim to be a distinct Sect Religion, to them, consisted in pious contemplation,

[1] A good account of this woman may be found in Mosheim's Church History, Cen. xvii. Sec. ii., Part ii. Chap 7. Histoire des Sectes Relig. par M. Gregoire, T. i. 148, 149.

the love of mankind, and benevolent actions. They thought there were too many sects already, and did not wish to form another.

The following is from the pen of Mrs. Leadley,[1]

"But a new and wonderful model will God bring forth in a new created state. Behold, saith the Lord, I will make all things new. The end shall return to its original primary being. Let none grudge that the grace of God of this latitude is, to make a complete restoration. For as once there was no sin, nor centre to it; so it must be again, when the hour of God's judgment shall come to pass a final sentence thereupon, to cast all into that lake and bottomless pit where all of sin and death, sorrow and curse, shall become a non-entity. Then nothing of diabolical spirits (God's offenders, or his creature-disturbers or tormentors,) shall be. All of this in the prophecy of Eternity will be known, and everlastingly rejoiced in: [the manifestation of which prophecy is] as a fore-runner of this blissful jubilee; the trumpet of the everlasting gospel of love, peace, and reconciliation to every creature capable thereof, in flesh, and out of flesh, that are not yet fully redeemed.

"This gospel is not a bare sound to be heard only by the ears. It is a Spirit that enters in, and gives the power of a resurrection-life to the dead, that could no way raise themselves, neither in bodies, nor out, (as found in their several confinements,) who will thereby be loosened, and set free."

A few words more of Jane Leadley's principles and followers: She was a mystic, and the subject (as she supposed) of many revelations from heaven. She did not argue the point of Universalism (she argued nothing); but rather received it as something congenial to her benevolence and the revelations made to her.

I have seen "The wars of David and the peaceable reign of Solomon; symbolizing the times of warfare and resentment of the Saints of the Most High God, &c." First published in A. D. 1700. Republished at London, in 1816.

She held, among other great truths, "That not only the justice, but also the mercy of God is over all his works; and that as the one is not confined to this short life, so also is not the other; but that they may both endure forever."

[1] "Enochian Walks with God," by Jane Leadley, 2d Edition, p. 27. She did not reason so much as she prophesied and asserted. The spirit dwelt in her, and she spoke from and by it, and, of course, needed to prove nothing.

"That Christ, as he is heir of all things, will lose nothing that is his right, or that the Father hath given him; and that, therefore, of his kingdom there shall be no end; but all creatures, whether in heaven or in earth, or under the earth, shall be made to submit themselves to him, and to bow the knee." See work above named, p. 26.

One of her principal followers was Francis Lee, M. D. "He was a man of stupendous learning, and was most intimate with Robert, Earl of Oxford, when Lord High Treasurer, to whom several proposals were made by him for the history, honor and advantage of these nations; his works are very numerous, but as he could never be prevailed on to affix his name to any one, they have been made public under the names of others, or have come into the world anonymously. The greatest part of Mr. Nelson's "Feasts and Fasts" I found (saith the author of his life) in his own hand, after his decease; he was the first that put Mr. Hoare and Mr. Nelson upon the founding of charity schools, upon the same plan as that of Halle, in Germany, (superintended by the famous Augustus French): and he (Dr. Lee) was continually promoting and encouraging all manner of charities, both public and private. Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, was exceedingly partial to him, for whom, by request, he wrote (in the year 1698,) Proposals for the right framing of his government. Vide "Dissertations Theological, Mathematical and Physical, by Francis Lee, M. D." 2 Vols. 8vo. 1752.[1]

Leadley mentions as among her followers Dr. John Por-

[1] "ΑΠΟΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ, or Dissertations Theological, Mathematical and Physical; with a Critical Commentary on the most difficult places of the Book of Genesis: wherein the divine authority of Moses is vindicated against the objections of all Sceptics, Deists and other Infidels. To which are prefixed a short account of the author: Proposals given to Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, anno 1698, for the right framing of his government. And a Second Edition of the Dissertation upon the Second Apocryphal Book of Esdras. By the late pious and learned Francis Lee, M. D. In 2 Vols. in one. The whole faithfully transcribed, and corrected from the author's own manuscripts, for the benefit of his daughters." London, 1752, 8vo. pp. 560.

dage, and Rev. Mr. Thomas Bromley. Dr. Pordage wrote a work entitled "Theologia Mystica."

The "Theosophical Transactions" was, I suspect, a publication of the members of the Philadelphian Society.

"The leading persons of the Society (under the conduct of Mrs. Leadley where Dr. Edward Hooker, Dr. Francis Lee, and many other persons of note, with some noblemen. Their public meeting was first held at Hungerford House, then at Westmoreland House, and lastly at Hoxtan, where they finished their divine testimony. They held a correspondence with the waiters and expectants of the Kingdom of Christ in all parts of Europe. It is worthy of remark that there used to assemble with them so great a number of ladies, (many of whom were of the first quality), that it was called, in derision, The Taffata Society."[1]

RETROSPECTION OF CHAPTER III.

XXVII. Royalty is an empty shadow at the best. Monarchs have been feeble, frail, fallible beings, falling perhaps below the mediocrity of mankind in talent, judgment and good intentions. Everything that was execrable combined in the character of Henry VIII. He was succeeded by his amiable son, Edward VI., but O how brief a reign had the latter. That stern King, before whom all monarchs must bow, brought down young Edward prematurely to his grave. To him succeeded Mary, bloody Mary, of Catholic origin, of Catholic education, and of Catholic partiality. Blame her, only in part, for the evil deeds of her reign. Blame her advisers, her ministers, her aspiring bishops, blood-thirsty men, who were as unlike their Master, as their mitres were unlike his crown of thorns. To Mary in the good providence of God, after a reign of only five years, succeeded Elizabeth, a woman of intellect, who would join herself to no man in marriage, and whose life

[1] See Roach's "Great Crisis."

would have been almost spotless, were it not that she was accessary to the death of poor Mary, Queen of Scots. To Elizabeth, succeeded James I., and to him Charles I., who paid upon the scaffold the price of his temerity and want of respect for the people's rights. Faulty as he was, who can avoid shedding a tear for Charles? The next man who ruled England was Cromwell, a usurper, as he is called; but he was a man, who had as good a right to reign as any other. He won the distinction with his own arm. The force of circumstances, the necessities of the nation elevated him to the highest office. He had no son of sufficient merit to succeed him; and Charles II. gained the throne. During the Protectorship, the largest religious liberty had been enjoyed. There was no union of Church and State. Every one had liberty to worship God in his own way, if he disturbed not others in their worship. England had not seen such a day for many, many years. The Presbyterians who had lifted up their heads very high under the Scotish line of kings, had been exceedingly oppressive. But the people of England were not ready for Presbyterianism; and the army, which could not be resisted, went for the largest individual liberty in religion. When one of the preachers went to Cromwell with a complaint, that some other had preached against him, (the individual) desiring to have him arrested, Cromwell replied, "if he hath preached against thee, preach back again." Among the Independents there was a great variety of sects. Each one belonged to what body he pleased and paid his money to whom he pleased. The Universalists of this day were found among the Independents. There were none among the Presbyterians. None of the penalties could put an end to free inquiry. There was no sect called Universalists. Those who held to the doctrine of the final happiness of all men, maintained the point each in his own way, by preaching, or by disputation, or by printing. There had been no books on Universalism.

The people learned the doctrine only from the Common Version, which, in the time of Cromwell, as now, was King James' version. The Fourierists of that day were inclined to Universalism, though they were not then called by that name, but by the equally unmusical name of Diggers, because they held that every man had a right to an acre of land, or more, on which to subsist. Everard and Winstanley both defended the opinions of the diggers.[1] We delight to look at the conscientious Earbury, vacating his place, on account of the terror he had for tythes. In this respect he differed very essentially from the prelates of the Episcopal Church when they had power, or the clergy among the Presbyterians. Behold the noble independence, the indomitable perseverance, the never failing courage of Richard Coppin, the Hosea Ballou of his day. His views agree more closely with the views of the Universalists of this day, than those of any man of that age. He was a student of the Bible, and perhaps of nothing else; and was always ready to stand up for the truth as it is in Jesus. His character was beyond reproach, for in all the controversies in which he was engaged not one of his opponents ever breathed a word against his character for purity, honesty and general uprightness of life. Come a little nearer our own day and we see Samuel Richardson, an eminent Baptist, bringing out a work against the eternity of hell torments, shaking its foundation, throwing down its pillars, and removing the immense fabric of error. He was much like Coppin in his views; though we have no proof that in their day, they ever had any connection, or in fact even knew each other. Cromwell has been slandered by the friends of monarchy ever since his day. He was a strong man. We must not judge him by all the rules which apply to men in our day. Judge him by the

[1] See Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches with elucidations. By Thomas Carlyle. New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1845; Vol. i. p. 357.

standard of morality of the age in which he lived. He could not have known our standard. Compare him with the people around him. Was he not better than many of the rulers whose names are spoken with respect? Did he not teach kings many salutary lessons? His son had not the strength of the father and would not bear, and did not seek to assume, the weight of government. Then came back the Stuarts, in the person of Charles II. to reign for a short time, and go down forever. Oppressed by the king, but triumphant in his religious faith, see Sir Henry Vane, the younger, led to the scaffold. He was a man of great confidence in God; a strong believer in the rectitude of the Divine government, who held that God at last would bring all his creatures to the possession of happiness. Behold Jeremy White, the truly religious man, the ardent believer in the Divine goodness, a chaplain in the family of the Protector. Such are the events and characters that pass before us, in review of the History of Universalism in England from 1650 to 1700. Truth cannot be put down by force. You may shed the blood of heretics, but this will not extinguish the light of their lives and doctrines.

BOOK IV.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ENGLAND CONTINUED; AND NOTICES OF ITS EMINENT DEFENDERS

[From A. D. 1650 to 1750.]

The doctrine of endless misery assailed in the Church of England; Jeremy Taylor inclined to Universalism; Dr. Henry More, a supposed believer in Universal Restoration; Dr. Thomas Goodwin and Dr. Isaac Barrow compared with Dr. More; Archbishop Tillotson covertly attacked the doctrine of endless misery; Generally understood to reject that doctrine; His excellent character and influence; His remarkable Sermon; The opposition it excited from the believers in endless misery; defended by Le Clerc, Kettlewell and others; Sir Wm. Dawes comes out in defence of endless misery, and the works of Drexelius and Swinden are published; Dr. Thomas Burnet opposes the doctrine of endless misery with great zeal; The excellent arguments he used; He thought the doctrine should not be preached; Dr. Watts finds fault with him on this point; William Whiston and his works; The controversies occasioned by his writings; Charles Povey's work; Dr. Wm. Dodwell attacks Whiston; Sir Isaac Newton agrees with Whiston, as does also Dr. Samuel Clarke; Dr. George Cheyne defends Universalism; The Chevalier Ramsay; His works defend Universalism; He died the only specimen of a Catholic, believer in Universalism; De Foe hints at Universalism; Dr. Watts; Dr. Doddridge: Rev. John Barker; Dr. Edward Young; Samuel Colliber doubts the doctrine of endless misery; R. Roach, B. D., a Universalist; Mr. Wm. Dudgeon a Universalist; Venn's work in favor of endless misery; Bishop Waburton's Divine Legation; Retrospection.

THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS MISERY ASSAILED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I. In the last chapter we brought up the History of Universalism in England to the early part of the eighteenth century. We there saw, that that doctrine had prevailed among the Independents, of the time of the Common-

wealth ; and that besides others, Jeremy White, chaplain to Cromwell, had believed that doctrine, and regarded it of so great importance as to prepare a learned treatise in defence thereof. We must now go back again into the seventeenth century, that we may bring into view a class of English divines who were favorable to Universalism, and who, at the same time, were regarded as some of the brightest luminaries of the Church to which they belonged ; we mean Dr. Henry More, Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Thomas Burnet, Wm. Whiston and others. When Tillotson was in college, he became acquainted with More and Rust, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, in Ireland, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a succeeding chapter ; and here it is probable the foundation of that liberality in sentiment was laid which afterward distinguished these men.[1] In the freedom with which they wrote against the doctrine of endless misery, and in the tendency of their arguments towards the doctrine of Universalism, we see some of the first fruits of the change in the Articles, and of the omission therefrom of the condemnation of the last named doctrine.

The following paragraph from Jeremy Taylor would lead to the belief that he was inclined to Universalism. He was attached to the Church of England, in the time of Laud, and was held in high estimation. During the commonwealth he left the country, and went first to Wales, and lived in comparative obscurity, and afterwards to Ireland. After the restoration, he was nominated to a Bishoprick. He was the warm friend and associate of Bishop Rust, who, it is well known, was a Universalist. We say nothing further in regard to Taylor's opinions, but leave the following extract to speak for itself :

On the Character of God. They also fear God unreasonably, and speaks no good things concerning him, who say that God hath decreed

[1] Birch's Life of Tillotson.

the greatest part of mankind to eternal damnation, and that only to declare his severity, and to manifest his glory by a triumph in our torments, and rejoicings in the gnashings of our teeth; who say that God commands us to observe laws which are impossible; that think he will condemn innocent persons for errors of judgment which they cannot avoid; that he will condemn whole nations for different opinions which they are pleased to call heresies; that think God will exact the duties of a man by the measure of an angel, or will not make abatement for all our pitiable infirmities. . . . He that says there was no such a man as Julius Cæsar does him less displeasure than he that says there was, but that he was a tyrant and a bloody parricide. And the Cimmerians were not esteemed impious for saying that there was no sun in the heavens; but Anaxagoras was esteemed irreligious for saying the sun was a very stone; and though to deny that there is a God is a high impiety and intolerable, yet he says worse, who, believing there is a God, says he delights in human sacrifices, in miseries and death, in tormenting his servants, and punishing their very infelicities and unavoidable mischances. To be God, and to be essentially and infinitely good, is the same thing; and therefore to deny either, is to be reckoned among the greatest crimes of the world.—*Jeremy Taylor's Sermons.*

DR. HENRY MORE.

II. [1670.] Writers of the first respectability have agreed in considering Dr. Henry More as a believer of the doctrine of Universal Restoration. In reference to his views on this point, it is supposed Dr. Rust describes him, as "a man whom after ages would better understand." [1] Dean Swift has left a testimony to the same point,[2] to which may be added that of the author of the preface to the first edition of Jeremy White[3] on Divine Goodness, and of the editor of the Monthly Repository.[4] Dr. More has left no *direct* testimony in favor of this sentiment, though his writings, particularly his Divine Dialogues, seem designed to lead to it.

His parents and early instructors were rigid Calvinists; but even in his youth he had a great abhorrence of their

[1] Monthly Repos. ix. 560.
[2] Abstract of Collins' Discourse on Free Thinking, xiv. 203.
[3] See Preface, &c.
[4] Monthly Repos. ix. 560.

sentiments. He thought if the doctrine of predestination were true, and he, at last, should be among the damned, he would do what he could to please God; nor could he but entertain the belief that in such an event, God would not keep him long in misery.[1] While very young he was put under the care of an uncle, who did not hesitate to apply the rod, when his nephew disputed against Calvinistic points of faith.[2] In manhood he was of the most unassuming manners, possessed of the greatest meekness, and of no ambition whatever: and the purity of his life is allowed, universally, to surpass all praise. He had frequent offers of preferment, which he rejected, and even resigned a living in favor of a friend, that he might go into retirement, with a small but sufficient income, devoting his time to literary pursuits. His works in three folios were once held in high repute. He died at the age of 73, on September 1st, 1687. His life extended through the reign of James I., the stormy reign of Charles I., the exciting scenes of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and the reign of Charles II. A man of his quiet spirit might well exclude himself from the world around him, when it was in such a state of turmoil and uncertainty.

The work in which he favors Universalism, is his Divine Dialogues; but here, instead of an express assertion of the sentiment, we find only those principles laid down which carry the mind insensibly towards it. Of these Dialogues, however, we have seen only the three first, which were published in a volume by themselves, at London, 1668. They contain sundry disquisitions concerning the attributes and providence of God; and particularly a vindication of his goodness, which, the author maintains, is in all things connected with his wisdom and power, and cannot be separated from them.[3] The Dialogues were first published without the name of the author, but are

[1] Biographia Britan.
[2] Monthly Repos. ix. 560.
[3] Page 515.

attributed to More by all his biographers. We think it not an unreasonable supposition, that his sentiments were more fully made known to his friends, than they have been to the public.[1] His biographer and friend, Richard Ward, says:

"And truly what, if we consider it, was his whole life spent in, but in a course of retirement and contemplation; in the viewing of the works of God and nature, and a rejoicing at the happiness of the creatures that have been made by him; in doing honor unto God, and good to men; in clearing up the existence of God, and his attributes; and showing the excellency and reasonableness both of Providence and of religion, more especially in asserting the Christian religion and magnifying, after the justest manner, Him who is the author and finisher of it; in the illustrating of our state present and future; and in a very particular discovery of the two grand mysteries both of godliness and iniquity; in the clearing up of truth and dissipating of error, and in a most diligent laying open the visions and prophecies of Holy Scripture; in a word, in a universal promoting the interests of peace and righteousness in the earth; and giving in general an example of prudence and piety, of charity and integrity amongst men?"

DR. GOODWIN AND DR. ISAAC BARROW.

III. While Dr. More was thus piously seeking to turn men from infidelity, by a reasonable and cheering exhibition of the ways of Providence, there were others who adopted a different course for the purpose of gaining the same end. In 1680, there appeared in London, a duodecimo of 350 pages, entitled "A Discourse of the Punishment of Sin in Hell, demonstrating the wrath of God to be the immediate cause thereof." By Thomas Goodwin, D. D. The author was then in a very advanced age, being over four score years. The publishers say in the preface, "We judged that such a rousing argument might not be unseasonable in so severe and atheistical an age as this." It was, in fact, a wicked time — the latter part of the reign

[1] To those who desire a further knowledge of More's Dialogues, and who cannot obtain the work, we commend the account of it which is found in the preface to Jeremy White on the Restoration of all things, as published in the Theological Library, Philadelphia, 1844.

of Charles II. But it is worthy of remark, that the corrupt Monarch here named, and his whole dissolute court, were probably believers of the doctrine defended by Dr. Goodwin. They needed not to be converted to that faith. The King had imbrued his hands in the blood of Sir Henry Vane, and opposed and persecuted other good men. He had driven some two thousand of honest clergymen from their livings, because they would not conform to his unjust requirements, and those of his obsequious Parliament. The higher orders of society gangrened under the influence of his example. It is not to be denied, that although the doctrine of endless misery is thought to be a very rousing doctrine, still it has often been held by those whose consciences seemed to be but little disturbed by it. As to the Atheists of that age, we think they were far less likely to be converted to Christianity by the work of Dr. Goodwin, than by that of Dr. More.

While such measures were resorted to by one class to suppress infidelity, others employed different means. Dr. Isaac Barrow was one of the most learned men of his time. In mathematics he was scarcely inferior to Sir Isaac Newton himself, by whom he was succeeded as lecturer on those sciences at Cambridge. He surrendered this office, that he might apply himself the more diligently to divinity. In 1672, the King raised him to be master of Trinity College, observing at the time, that he gave the office to the best scholar in England. He died in 1677, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He evidently had little faith in the doctrine of endless torments. The infidels of his day objected to Christianity, on the ground that it taught the doctrine of endless misery, — a doctrine which they maintained was absolutely irreconcilable with the infinite goodness of God. In treating on this great subject, in his discourses, Dr. Barrow is remarkable for the manner in which he takes up the judgments of God, as the banishment from Eden, the overthrow of the cities of the plain, &c. Noth-

ing occurs to mar the impression which one receives in the perusal, that he believed in the goodness of God in the fullest sense, and could not have entertained the thought of unending torture.[1]

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON COVERTLY ATTACKED THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS MISERY.

IV. [1690.] Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, has long been classed among those who have rejected the doctrine of endless punishment. The singular and covert manner, however, in which he has undermined and refuted that sentiment, has led some to think that, so far from having been an opposer, he was its zealous advocate; for it is in a sermon in which he was *professedly* favoring that tenet, that we find the evidence he did not believe it. One thing is certain, the advocates of endless misery proved by the vigorous defence of their doctrine which they made to counteract his arguments, that they were very far from thinking he had done any service to their cause, but rather that it had sustained a great injury. Among those who have considered him a defender of a *limited* future punishment, we may mention Edwards, in his Theologia Reformata,[2] published 1713; Dr. Whitby, in his Appendix to the second Epistle to the Thessalonians,[3] published 1718; Dean Swift;[4] the author to the preface to Jeremy White, on Divine Goodness;[5] Whiston, who says Tillotson "chose rather to give up the veracity of God in these his threatenings, than to defend the eternity of punishment;" the Editors of the Monthly Review;[6] Archbishop King, in the Appendix to Origin of Evil; Eberhard, in his New Apology for Socrates;[7]

[1] See Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, D. D., in 8 vols. Oxford, University Press, vol. iii. pp. 514–550.
[2] ii 99. [3] Commentary, vol. ii.
[4] Abstract of Collins' Discourse, &c. Swift's Works, xiv. 203.
[5] Preface, &c. [6] xlvii. 191.
[7] Histoire des Sectes Religieuse, i. 75.

Mr. William Duncombe,[1] well known among the learned in England; Evans, in his Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World;[2] Adam, in his Religious World Displayed;[3] and many others. The best and most intimate friends of Tillotson understood him to hold the views attributed to him by these persons; nor does his faithful biographer deny the fact, but acknowledges that on some points, in relation to future punishment, he agreed with Episcopius,[4] whose writings had contributed essentially to the forming of his taste and sentiments in Theology.[5]

HIS EXCELLENT CHARACTER.

V. His father was an Anabaptist.[6] To suppose, however, that his parents had any influence in cultivating the religious opinions he cherished through life, would be against the testimony of respectable authors, who maintain that he was educated a Puritan. He was born in 1630: during the stormy times at the close of the reign of Charles I. and of the Commonwealth, he was in college; at the restoration he received preferments in the church; at the revolution, when James II. was overthrown, he befriended the family that came into power; and on the accession of William and Mary, was elevated to the high office which he held at his death. The society of those with whom he associated at college, more than any thing else, must, we think, have given that liberal tone to his feelings, and that cast to his sentiments which he always retained. In all stations he was faithful; and especially, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he performed his duties, amid the virulence and clamor of his enemies, with satisfaction to the King, and honor to the nation. For a considerable time before his predecessor,

[1] Hughes Correspondence, ii. 156, and Month. Repos. vii. 491.
[2] Art. Universalists. [3] ii. 388.
[4] See the account of Episcopius in that department of this work which treats of Holland.
[5] Life of Tillotson, by Thomas Birch.
[6] Milner's End of Controversy, 285, note in loc.

Sancroft, was suspended, he was thought of for this office; but he consented to his nomination with great and unfeigned reluctance, having a just appreciation of the enmity to which it would expose him, and being induced thereto only by the wish of the King and Queen. As a scholar Dr. Tillotson has ever been held in the highest esteem. His sermons, which have been often republished since his death, and translated into various languages, are regarded as a standard of sound reasoning, good sense, fervent piety, and a clear, elegant and unaffected style. The renowned Addison, so universally known as one of the most elegant and correct writers in the English language, projected the plan of an English Dictionary, the signification of the words to be illustrated by extracts from these discourses. Bishop Burnet, who was his intimate friend, and who preached the sermon at his funeral, drew his character in the following words: "He was a man of the truest judgment and best temper I had ever known; he had a clear head, with a most tender and compassionate heart; he was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and soon conquered enemy; he was truly and seriously religious, but without affectation, bigotry or superstition; his notions of morality were fine and sublime; his thread of reasoning was easy, clear, and solid; he was not only the best preacher of the age, but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection: his sermons were so well heard, and liked, and so much read, that all the nation proposed him as a pattern, and studied to copy after him; his parts remained with him clear and unclouded; but the perpetual slanders, and other ill-usage he had been followed with, for many years, most particularly since his advancement to that great post, gave him too much trouble, and too deep a concern: it could neither provoke him, nor frighten him from his duty; but it affected his mind so much, that it was thought to have shortened his days."[1]

[1] Burnet's Own Time, folio ii. 135.

He exercised always the Christian spirit of forgiveness; and after his death were found some bundles of papers and letters, full of invective and malicious insinuations, on which he wrote, with his own hand, "these are libels, I pray God to forgive them as I do." He ever exerted himself strenuously against Popery and Atheism. It was his strong opposition to the former that made him somewhat obnoxious to James II., and that brought him into the favor of the new King and Queen, when James was obliged to quit his throne. Tillotson, by his profound reasoning on the existence of God, by his pure and beautiful style, by his engaging labors as a preacher, by his various publications, by his blameless life, and by his great influence as Archbishop, did more probably, in his day, to resist the spread of Atheism, than any other man in England. It is the influence of such men, and their works, rather than the threatening of unbelievers with endless misery, that wins souls to faith in God, and his Son Jesus Christ.

HIS REMARKABLE SERMON.

VI. [1690.] The sermon, of which we have already spoken, and in which we find the evidence that the Archbishop opposed the doctrine of endless punishment, was preached while he was Dean of St. Paul's, before the Queen, on the 7th of March, 1689–90. The text is Matt. xxv. 46. "*These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.*" After a proper introduction, he laid down the two following propositions, which he endeavored to establish:

I. That the eternal punishment of wicked men, in another world, is plainly threatened in Scripture. And

II. That this (i. e. the *threat* of eternal punishment) is not inconsistent either with the justice or goodness of God.

He treated the first proposition briefly. That the words applied to the duration of punishment are often, by the sacred writers, used in a limited sense, he acknowledged.

But he maintained that they are also used to signify "an interminable and endless duration. Now, if God had intended to have told us that the punishment shall have no end, the languages in which the Scriptures were written do hardly afford fuller and more certain words to express to us a duration without end. And likewise, which is also a peremptory decision of the thing, because the duration of the punishment of wicked men, is in the very same sentence expressed by the very same word which is used for the duration of the happiness of the righteous." After this, very few would expect to find the author an advocate for limited punishment. But let us see how he proceeded in showing that the *threat* of endless punishment is consistent with the justice and goodness of God.

He took notice of the principal arguments whereby some had attempted to justify the infliction of eternal torments, and was careful to show that none of them did in reality answer the purpose for which they were urged, but that they left the subject liable still to the same objections. By this procedure, he deprived the advocates of endless misery of what they regarded as some of the most essential supports of their faith; and having done this, he was prepared, in his own way, to reconcile the *threat* of endless punishment with the justice and goodness of God. For it was the *threat only*, and not the actual infliction of such a punishment, that he professed to reconcile with the Divine attributes.

He showed that the penalty threatened is not to be measured by the degree or duration of the offence, but by the ends and purposes of government; and the object of all good governments is not the infliction of the penalty, but by the threat of it, to deter men from sin, and thereby *prevent their suffering it.* His system was based upon the false supposition, that men's fears of a punishment, and the good effect of this fear upon their hearts, rise in proportion to the greatness of the penalty with which they are

threatened; but this all history has proved erroneous. "Whoever considers," said he, "how ineffectual the threatening even of eternal torments is to the greatest part of sinners, will soon be satisfied that a less penalty than that of eternal sufferings would to the far greatest part of mankind, have been in all probability of little or no force. And therefore, if anything more terrible than eternal vengeance could have been *threatened* to the workers of iniquity, it had not been unreasonable, because it would have been little enough to deter men effectually from sin." In this view, when we break the laws of God, we fall into his hands, lie at his mercy, and he can inflict on us any punishment he chooseth; but the mighty sinner may be mightily punished by the degree and intenseness of his sufferings, without any regard to their duration. For in threatening, to secure his law from violation, God may denounce any penalty, since the design in so doing is benevolent.

Secondly, *the threat* of endless punishment was shown to be consistent with divine justice, because "after all, he that threatens hath still the power of execution in his own hands. For there is this remarkable difference between promises and threatenings, that he who promiseth passeth over a right to another, and therefore stands obliged to him in justice and faithfulness to fulfil his promise; and if he do not, the party to whom the promise is made is not only disappointed, but injuriously dealt withal. But in threatenings it is quite otherwise. He that threatens keeps the right of punishing in his own hand, and is not obliged to execute what he hath threatened any further than the reasons and ends of government do require; and he may without any injury to the party threatened, remit and abate as much as he pleaseth of the punishment threatened; and because that in so doing he is not worse but better than his word, nobody can find fault or complain

of any wrong or injustice thereby done to him." Herein it is perfectly evident, that it is the *threat* and not the infliction of endless punishment, that Dr. Tillotson reconciled with the justice of God.

But how did he defend the veracity of God? Just as any divine will defend it in regard to the threatened overthrow of Nineveh, which God was pleased not to execute. Hath not God sworn, however, that sinners shall not enter his rest? and is not his oath immutable? It is so far as the threatening extends; and herein the Dr. condemns Origen who held that wicked men and devils would actually enter heaven. While the former mercifully screened the wicked from the *infliction* of endless suffering, he did not say, with the latter, they should be admitted to bliss with the righteous, nor did he believe in their annihilation; but he seems to have left them, as did Episcopius from whom he formed his sentiments,[1] in a middle condition between suffering and extatic bliss; they are not to be punished eternally, nor are they to be raised to the full glory of salvation.

Thirdly, "we may consider further," said the Dr. "that the primary end of all threatenings is not punishment, but the prevention of it. For God does not threaten that men may sin and be punished, but that they may not sin, and so may escape the punishment threatened. And therefore, the higher the threatening runs, so much the more mercy and goodness there is in it; because it is so much the more likely to hinder men from incurring the penalty that is threatened."

Thus, on the Dr.'s scheme, prudence requires that men believe in absolutely endless punishment, since his whole design is thwarted if men should obtain the slightest intimation of the doctrine he maintained; and he really betrays great inconsistency when he exhorts the people to

[1] His Life by Thomas Birch.

whom he had preached this sermon, to fear endless punishment, just as they would did they know it would be executed.

Some persons may find a little difficulty in securing Dr. Tillotson from the charge of insincerity, in the design of this discourse. He did not mean to leave the impression that eternal punishment which is threatened will ever be executed; he secured the divine justice only by providing that mankind shall escape it. Why, then, did he give his sermon such a form, and appear ostensibly to defend a doctrine which he did not believe?[1] "As for God," he says, "let us not doubt but that he will take care of his own honor, and that he who is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, will do nothing that is repugnant to his eternal goodness and righteousness; and that he will certainly so manage things at the judgment of the great day, as to be justified in his sayings, and to be righteous when we are judged. For notwithstanding his threatenings, he hath reserved power enough in his own hands to do right to all his perfections, so that we may rest assured he will judge the world in righteousness, and if it be any wise inconsistent either with righteousness or goodness, which he knows much better than we do, to make sinners miserable forever, *that he will not do it;* nor is it creditable that he would threaten sinners with a punishment which he *could* not execute upon them." But the question is not whether God *can*, but whether he *will* execute eternal suffering. The Dr. said he will not, if it is inconsistent either with his justice or righteousness; and if it be not, why did he provide a way to screen the divine attributes from imputation? There can be no question,

[1] Perhaps he would have justified himself in this course, by believing he could do much more good, in this way, than if he had opposed, in a more direct manner, the doctrine of endless misery. By his method, it is possible that he found access to a far greater number of minds. His character must forever secure him against the charge of wicked hypocrisy.

that the whole bearing of this discourse is against the infliction of endless torments; nor have we learned that the Dr., during all the reproach which it drew upon him, ever denied the conclusion which has now been deduced from it.[1]

OPPOSED BY DRS. HICKS, WHITBY, AND LUPTON.

VII. [A. D. 1705.] The sermon was printed soon after delivery, and its author quickly learned the effect it produced on the minds both of his friends and enemies. A story was immediately circulated that he had denied the doctrine of endless misery by way of consolation to the Queen, then under the horrors of despair on account of her behavior to her father,[2] a circumstance which, whether true or false, very clearly shows the impression the sermon made concerning his sentiments. The celebrated Dr. George Hicks assaulted him furiously in several sermons,[3] (Dr. Hicks wrote only pamphlets), representing the discourse as a wretched performance, and calling on the Convocation to censure it, alleging that it was a matter of triumph to Atheists, Deists and Socinians. There is no question that he was a man of talent; but probably his spite against Tillotson may have influenced him somewhat in this matter. Under Charles II. he was raised from one post to another, until at last he was designed for the Bishoprick of Bristol, which he failed to receive on account of the death of the King. His resolute opposition to popery was the bar to his advancement under James II.; and in consequence of refusing to take the oaths of allegiance under William and

[1] When the celebrated Whitefield was in this country, he held it very doubtful whether Tillotson could be saved, on account of the laxity of his faith. Talking one day on this point with one of the tutors of Harvard College, he asked the tutor, "do you, sir, really believe Archbishop Tillotson will go to heaven?" To which the tutor is said to have replied, "I think it very doubtful, Mr. Whitefield, whether you ever will meet him there."

[2] Birch's Life of Tillotson.

[3] Some Discourses, pp. 44–47. See Whitby's Commentary, folio edition of London, 1727, vol. ii. pp. 477–487.

Mary, he was ejected from all his emoluments. It would not be surprising to learn he felt envious towards those who were elevated to high places in the Church; and the Archbishop, mild and humble though he was, would of course be a conspicuous mark for the shafts of ill-nature. Dr. Whitby, likewise, inserted in his Commentary on the New Testament (published not long after) an Appendix to the first chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which he endeavored to refute the arguments which the Archbishop had used. He does not call the latter by name, but he styles him a "very great and learned person;" and he makes large quotations from the sermon, in the precise language of it, and attempts to show that its positions are not sound, and that God hath not merely threatened endless misery upon sinners, but that he will actually execute it. The spirit of Dr. Whitby was the opposite of that of Dr. Hicks. But Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Lupton, in a discourse preached before the University at Oxford, in 1706, attacked the Archbishop's arguments with considerable acrimony. Says a writer of that time, "He falls in a most violent manner upon the great and good Archbishop, on account of his sermon on the eternity of hell torments. In this invective the young author (for I cannot think him very *old*, either by the force of his arguments, or the candor of his management of them), expresses a great deal of warmth against the Archbishop; and if hard words and malicious insinuations, a confidence of asserting, and an assuming air throughout, are proofs of a good cause, and the better of the argument, Mr. Lupton has obtained the victory over Archbishop Tillotson; but if these are only the visible effects of a vain opinion of himself, we never had a more precise pillar of vanity and affectation."[1] Again this biographer of Tillotson continues: "This author's *arguments* are indeed all a mere

[1] See the Supplement to Swinden's Inquiry into the nature and place of Hell, London, 1727, p. 462. The extract is from a Life of Tillotson, printed in folio to bind up with his works, by H Caryl, in the Strand.

beging the question, in taking that for *granted* which wants chiefly to be *proved.* If he had thought the Archbishop had weakened, or gone against any doctrine of the Scripture, he ought first to have fixed *his* sense of the texts on which he built his doctrine. For example, he ought particularly to have shown that the Scripture was to be taken literally *here,* though not in *other places,* and given irrefragable arguments to prove *why* it should *be so.* He should have shown that *forever — everlasting,* &c., in the Scripture sense, were always understood as we use them *now,* or as he *does,* of something that *never can* or *will have* an *end.* One generation cometh, and another goeth, but the earth *endureth for ever,* is a text in Scripture, and yet I believe this gentleman will not contend that there will be *no end* of the *earth,* and still tell us he believes the Bible. It being notorious, that as the Scriptures often, by *all the earth,* only means the land of Judah, or of Israel; so those terms of *forever, always,* and *everlasting,* are frequently made use of to express a *long duration* of time, which yet will have *an end.*

He should, therefore, have cleared this point in the first place, and evidently have shown why those words should bear in this case a different sense."

We shall say no more of Mr. Lupton, after what this gentleman has urged in behalf of the good Archbishop, but leave him; entirely acquiescing in his own sentiments of his sermon, *That it is not equal to the great weight and difficulty of the argument.*[1]

IT WAS DEFENDED BY LE CLERC AND KETTLEWELL.

VIII. But the Archbishop's sermon found friends, as well as enemies. Mr. John Kettlewell, an opponent of Tillotson's political policy, who had been a Fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, and who was, until the Revolution, Vicar

[1] "Mr. Lupton's dedication of his sermon to Dr. Adams." See Swinden's Inquiry, as before quoted, pp. 464–466.

of Coleshill, in Warwichshire, was induced by the arguments of the sermon to make some additions to his "*Practical Believer,*" just published, in 1668. It was in that part which treated of the first and last article of the Creed, the one concerning the proportion between sin and punishment, and the other in relation to the dispensing power of God as to punishments.[1] But Mr. Kettlewell was not the most eminent approver of the Archbishop's arguments. That celebrated scholar and divine, John Le Clerc, published an elaborate article upon the subject. He was aware of the effect which the doctrine of endless torments had exerted, in leading men, who supposed it to be taught in the Bible, to reject revealed religion altogether. He sought to counteract that effect, in an article that appeared in the "Bibliotheque Choisie," a work which he edited from 1703 to 1713, and which consisted of 128 volumes, 12mo. The article was translated from the French, by Dr. Desaguliers. We make the following extracts:

"We are obliged to declare, that if any one can't persuade himself that eternal punishments are just, he had better look upon what the Gospel says of them as threats, or *Comminatory Punishments* (as the expression is) than to reject the whole Gospel upon that account. It is better in such a case to be an Origenist than an unbeliever; that is, to disbelieve the eternity of the torments out of regard to God's justice and goodness, and obey the Gospel in every thing else; than wholly to reject revelation, imagining that it contains something contrary to the idea which itself gives us of God, and which is conformable to the light of nature. Mr. Camphuysen,a person famous in Holland upon account of several pieces of poetry, has publicly declared that he had been tempted to reject the Christian religion altogether, whilst he believed that it taught the eternity of torments; and that he never overcame those temptations, till he found that the threats of the Gospel might be taken in another sense. It was for promoting the salvation of such doubting men, that Archbishop Tillotson spoke as he did."

Again, Le Clerc says, pp. 438–441:

"Nothing can be more absurd than wholly to deny hell torments, to de-

[1] See Life of Mr. Kettlewell, p. 163, and Life of Tillotson, by Thomas Birch.

fend divine goodness. An Origenist by supposing them finite, easily removes all difficulties. He finds in God the following tokens of goodness as must truly be infinite. Namely: *First*, that God has created men to be kind to them, out of pure goodness; for having no being, we had not done any thing which could bring on us the effects of his kindness. *Secondly*, He has given them a thousand excellent qualities, as appears by the invention of the arts and sciences, both speculative and practical. *Thirdly*, He has encompassed them with a numberless quantity of sensible benefits or blessings that affect their senses, which are enjoyed with a great deal of pleasure, and tend much to their advantage, if they are used moderately: And as for life, all men love it, except a few melancholy people. *Fourthly*, He has shown them by reason and revelation, the things which were necessary to be known in order to their obtaining happiness (by their obedience to Him) both in this life and after death. *Fifthly*, The commands which he has laid on them are of such a nature, that they cannot but be happy in observing them; since they all promote the good of human nature, and all men reap an advantage from them; for they can bestow nothing on the Almighty, who has no more need of them after once he has created them, than he had in the duration without end, which preceded the creation of the world. *Sixthly*, God's commands are easy to be observed, if we will conform ourselves to right reason; and nothing can make them difficult but a contrary habit. *Seventhly*, Such an habit may be overcome, and if we fall, God is not implacable; he will be satisfied if we do but rise again. *Eighthly*, He immediately gives eternal happiness to those that have repented, and punishes the impenitent with moderate torments, before He lets them enter in possession of that said eternal happiness, which shows that He has created man with a design to make him happy; which if man has not been at first, is only through his own fault.

Nothing can be objected against this but the inconveniences which are annexed to an intelligent nature, which is liable to change, and which God was not willing to prevent; because He looked upon them as nothing in comparison of the good which He has resolved to bless mankind with."[1]

SIR WM. DAWES WRITES IN DEFENCE OF ENDLESS TORMENTS, AND THE WORKS OF DREXELIUS AND SWINDEN ARE PUBLISHED.

IX. [1707.] Besides the works mentioned in the seventh section of this chapter, there were others issued in defence of the doctrine of endless torments, which it is probable were brought forward to counteract the influence of Arch-

[1] We find these extracts from Le Clerc's article in the work of Swinden, before mentioned, Supplement, pp. 411, 412, 438–441. See, also, Bibliotheque Choisie, Tome vii., Art. viii., p. 292 et seq.

bishop Tillotson's arguments. Among these, we may mention a series of sermons by Sir William Dawes, Bart. who to other titles added that of D. D. The sermons were preached before King William and Queen Anne, on several occasions, Sir William being chaplain in ordinary to her Majesty. The subjects of these discourses were, 1st, "The pains and terrors of a wounded conscience," Prov. xviii. 14; 2d, "The *certainty* of hell torments from the principles of nature and reason," Matt. xxv. 41; 3d, "The greatness of hell torments, same text; 5th, 6th and 7th, "The eternity of hell torments proved from Scripture and reason; its true meaning stated, and the objections against it answered." We can have little doubt that these sermons were designed as an answer to the one preached by Archbishop Tillotson.[1] A few years afterward, viz., in 1710 there appeared, in London, an English edition of the work of Drexelius upon Eternity, translated from the Latin and republished by Rev. S. Dunster, A. M. Jeremiah Drexelius was a Jesuit of Augsburg, who died at Munich, in 1638, at the age of 57. His works were published at Antwerp, in two volumes, folio. He wrote a curious poem on hell torments, in which he calculated how many souls can be contained in a narrow space in those dreadful regions.[2] A man given up so much to fancy, could hardly produce a very valuable work upon eternity. In 1714, Tobias Swinden, an English divine, and for some time rector of Cuxton, in Kent, published a curious inquiry into the nature and place of hell. The design of the work was to show, 1st, the reasonableness of a future state; 2d, the punishments of the next life; 3d, the various opinions concerning the place of hell; 4th, that the fire of hell is not metaphorical but real; 5th, the improbability of that fire being in or about the center of the earth; 6th, the proba-

[1] The second edition of these Sermons came out in 1707. We know not at what time the first edition appeared.

[2] See Lempriere's Biographical Dictionary.

bility of the sun's being the local hell, with reasons for this conjecture, and the objections from atheism, philosophy and the Holy Scriptures answered. A second edition of this work appeared in 1747, with a supplement, wherein the notions of Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Lupton and others, as to the eternity of hell torments are impartially considered. Mr. Swinden placed Tartarus in the very sun ; and the work is illustrated with a plate, showing the body of the sun, covered with mountains and valleys of fire. Such a conceit cannot be considered worthy of the slightest credit. The supplement to which we have referred was probably written by some other hand. It is designed to abate the rigor of the book ; and was evidently intended as a defence of the ground taken by Archbishop Tillotson in respect to endless punishment. It was principally extracted from Le Clerc. After giving Le Clerc's and Tillotson's arguments, the author of the supplement proceeds to give Mr. Lupton's arguments against the Archbishop's Sermon, and the defence of the latter against those arguments by his biographer.

DR. THOMAS BURNET.

X. [1720.] Congenial in faith and feeling with the renowned and excellent primate Tillotson, was Dr. Thomas Burnet, who had been pupil of the former at Clare-hall, in Cambridge. Dr. Burnet manifested, in his youth, extraordinary powers of mind, so that he early obtained the friendship of several influential individuals. In 1654, he removed to Christ's College ; in 1657, became Fellow ; and in 1661, was made Proctor of the University. Afterwards he was governor to Charles, Duke of Bolton, and to James, Earl of Ossory, and grandson to James, the first Duke of Ormand ; and by the interest of that Duke, and other noble friends, he was chosen, in 1685, Master of the Charter

House. Introduced at Court by Tillotson, he became his successor as Clerk of the Closet to King William. His reputation in the learned world, was very great, and had been principally gained by his *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, printed at London, in 1681. It was written at first in Latin, but at the recommendation of Charles II. he translated it into English; and although writers of the greatest abilities have pronounced it a system built on wrong data, yet it has been universally admired for its uncommon beauties, its elegant diction and interesting details. He was once thought of for the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; but exceptions being taken at the freedom he had used in explaining the account of the Fall, and at his imaginary dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, which he had published in one of his works, he was not only dropped as a candidate for that high office, but removed from his station as Clerk of the Closet. Banished from royal favor, and regardless of the frowns of the world, he retired to the Charter House, and spent the remainder of a very long life, in the quietness of literary pursuits, when, it is probable, he composed his posthumous works. He gave one instance of real independence of mind, by refusing to obey the command of King James II. and admit, by royal dispensation, a person pensioner of the Charter House, who had not taken the customary oaths; and as he and the other governors persisted in maintaining the ground they had taken, the King withdrew, and pressed the matter no further.[1]

Macauley, in his late History of England, says, "While Oxford was opposing a firm resistance to tyranny, a stand not less resolute was made in another quarter. James had, some time before, commanded the Trustees of the Charter House, men of the first rank and consideration in the king-

[1] For the life of Burnet, see Dr. Birch's Life of Tillotson, all the principal Biographical Dictionaries, and the Biograph. Britan.

dom, to admit a Roman Catholic, named Popham, into the hospital which was under their care. The master of the house, Thomas Burnet, a clergyman of eminent genius, learning and virtue, had the courage to represent to them, though the ferocious Jeffreys sat at the board, that what was required of them was contrary both to the will of the founder and to an act of Parliament. "What is that to the purpose?" said a courtier, who was one of the governors. "It is very much to the purpose I think," answered a voice, feeble with age and sorrow, yet not to be heard without respect by any assembly, the voice of the venerable Ormond. "An act of Parliament," continued the Patriarch of the Cavalier party, "is, in my judgment, no light thing." The question was put whether Popham should be admitted, and it was determined to reject him. The chancellor who could not well ease himself by cursing and swearing at Ormond, flung away in a rage, and was followed by some of the minority. The consequence was that there was not a quorum left, and that no formal reply could be made to the royal mandate.[1]

DE STATU MORTUORUM — HIS WORK.

XI. The work which principally demands our attention, is entitled *De Statu Mortuorum, et Resurgentium*.[2] It was not *published* until after the author's death; though he caused two or three copies to be printed that they might pass the judgment of his friends, and thus his thoughts come forth amended by their criticisms. But he was advised to keep the dissertation to himself, and not permit his sentiments to be known.

[1] The History of England from the Accession of James II. By Thomas Babington Macaulay: New York, Harper and Brothers, 8vo. vol. ii. 269, 270.

[2] Literally, "Of the State of the Dead, and of the Raised." The work is usually called, "Burnet on the State of the Dead." The title of the English edition of 1733 is, "A Treatise concerning the State of Departed Souls, before, and at, and after the Resurrection."

Dr. Burnet begins with the fact that man is composed of two parts, soul and body; and since the body dies, in a brief season after its birth, we ought to inquire whether the soul perishes with the body, or whether it shall enjoy a separate life and vigor. If the latter, what sort of life shall it enjoy? what sort of state? Is it to remain the same for ever? If it shall undergo another change, is it to inhabit a second body of any kind? What distinction is to be made between those that have been good and those that have been evil? What sort of rewards, what punishments will be distributed to every one according to his merits? What shall be the fate and the fortune of the immortal soul, from its departure and deliverance from the earthly body, even to the consummation of all things? Such is the plan of Dr. Burnet's work, which was very appropriately entitled "*De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium.*"

In the execution of his plan he shows that men are to expect a future state. His arguments in favor of that great fact, are stated with a force and precision seldom equalled. He held that the human soul is an immortal substance, distinct from the body, and from all matter. He did not believe that men will any of them enter into their final states at death; but that the righteous will enjoy an inferior degree of happiness, and the wicked will suffer in hades, but not the full measure of their deserts, until the resurrection; that it is more probable that until that event the soul will remain in a separate state, than that it will be vested in a body. Yet, after all, he said, this is to be numbered among things obscure, or not expressly revealed. He then proceeds to consider the resurrection and the final judgment. Christ shall come in the clouds of heaven; the earth and all that is therein shall be burned up; and the final judgment shall take place. He applies to that event the prophecy of Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, although he thought the latter event was set forth as a type of the destruction of the world. The last judgment, in his view,

would be held with great pomp and splendor ; after which, human souls would undergo a purgation, — a purification by fire, — more or less severe, according to the different degrees of their guilt. He sought to prove this by the baptism of fire mentioned in the Word of God, and by the words of Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 13, that "the fire should try every man's work of what sort it is ;" and if it shall be burned, still the man himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire. He shows that this was the opinion of the Fathers, and among others Origen ; but said he, "we ought not to fancy, as some imagine, that this opinion concerning this fiery purgation and trial is peculiar to Origen, when it was common to almost all the Fathers to the time when St. Austin lived." (p. 163.) He adduces the testimonies of Lactantius, Hilary, St. Ambrose, Basil the Great, to whom he joins both the Gregories, (Of Nyssen and Nazianzen). And Jerome, says Dr. Burnet, "is accused by Rufinus of being a secret favorer of the doctrines of Origen, as is very well known, the most distinguished of which is, that which puts an end to the punishments of the damned, as soon as their malice is purged away." (p. 168.) Jerome, however, the Dr. thought, "inclined to more sides than one." He affirmed that at the time of Austin, (A. D. 600,) this opinion of the Fathers, concerning the purgation by fire, had begun to decline, and was finally corrupted into the purgatory of the Papal Church. He aimed to restore again the opinions of the Fathers upon this subject ; for although modern notions might bring many into the Church, yet men should not entertain views that are fantastical, and of which no good account can be given ; for by such a course we drive men of sense away ; and "tis next to stupidity to drive men of sense away, in order to gain fools."

Dr. Burnet then proceeds to treat of the resurrection of the dead, and in what state they will be after they are risen, and what sort of bodies they will have : what sort of body we are to have at the resurrection ? He treats, also, of the

first and last resurrection; of the new heavens and the new earth; the renovation of nature: of the millenial kingdom of Christ, and the consummation of all things. But on none of these points do we purpose to give his opinions with any greater particularity.

HIS ARDENT OPPOSITION TO THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS MISERY.

XII. We come then, at last, to describe his views on the subject of endless punishment. He does not seem to have believed in a local hell; but to have regarded it as a state, rather than a place. The great question, before which, in his sight, all others touching the subject dwindled into insignificance, was, "whether those punishments are to endure eternally, without cessation, without relaxation, without end? Human nature abhors the very name of eternal punishments, which sets before our eyes a spectacle of insatiable, implacable revenge; and this for no manner of profit or hopes of amendment."[1] Still, he allowed that punishment was said in the New Testament to be *eternal;* but we must explain the language of Christ and his apostles reasonably. There are invincible objections to the doctrine of endless misery. The Dr. felt those objections in his very heart. He was no cold theorist. Some of the most eloquent passages of the book, are those in which he gives vent to his own feelings on this part of his subject. "The soul flies," said he, "from the very thought, and abhors the remembrance of everlasting misery; and several things have occurred to me, while I have been thinking on this subject, by which I am sensible that others have been persuaded, as well as myself, that God neither will, nor can endure the perpetual affliction and torment of his own creatures; nor can Nature itself endure it. Then, we conceive the God of the Christians to be the best and wisest of Beings; that he is neither cruel nor unjust to the race of

[1] p. 342.

men; that there is nothing barbarous or dismal in his worship; that he has neither instituted, nor suffered any thing that is barbarous, any thing that is inhuman; no blood, or wounds, or tearing of the skin or flesh; nor does he love, after the manner of Moloch, to embrace living infants with his arms of fire. Besides, Jesus the Head and the Captain of the Christian dispensation, to whom the Father has committed all judgment, is the greatest lover of human kind; and suffered his own blood to be shed to redeem us from evil and misery. This King and merciful Father, and this most righteous Judge, govern entirely the fates of humankind; and yet you assert that, according to the Sacred Scriptures, the greatest part of humankind will be damned to eternal punishments, even by the most merciful Father, by this most righteous Judge." pp. 343, 344.

Again, he says, "Concerning the number of those who will be miserable in another life, I have nothing to say, not being able to know any thing of it: but that God should condemn his own creatures to a state of eternal misery, and should retain them in that state, seems to be repugnant both to divine wisdom and goodness, and, I may add likewise, to justice: I say repugnant to wisdom; for a state like this, of everlasting and unchangeable misery, would be in vain, and of no use, and therefore unwise and unworthy of God; for a torment without cessation, and without end, can neither be of service to God, nor to man. Not to man most certainly, if there is no room for repentance, and he who is *tormented* can never grow better; if no intermission, and no ease is allowed, that the tormented may respire a little, and deliberate concerning the change of his state and his mind. Let this punishment be severe, let it be bitter, nay, let it be lasting, but let it at length have an end; it can otherwise produce no fruit, no, not the least degree of it; nor would it be possible for these miserable sinners to repent, and lead better lives, if amidst the pangs

of their bodies and their minds they should happen to be born again." pp. 344, 345.

He maintains it is a fair presumption, that the souls of the wicked after death will not be incurable. How can men be infidels then, for Christ will be present, and they must see him, and believe, and be converted. That tendency to evil which dwells in the body, will not then affect the soul. "But by what argument will you pretend to convince me that the souls of the wicked are after death incurable? The fathers seem not to have believed that, who were of opinion, that the last would be a purgative fire, concerning which we have treated in the sixth chapter. Nor does it seem just to limit the divine power and wisdom, and to oppress it with an evil irresistible destiny, or an incurable disease; for whatever this distemper of souls may be, if it can by any method, or any medicine be driven out, no remedy certainly is more powerful, or more effectual than fire, or than fiery torments; this pain, if any, will cause them to be touched with a sense of their former crimes, and to grow weary of their present misery. Besides, in that other life, there will be no longer room for the infidelity of the wicked: 'When they shall have seen Christ coming in the clouds, surrounded with glory, and with his mighty angels, triumphing everywhere over his enemies, and trampling them under his feet.' And then that fomentation of evil, which dwells in this body and this flesh, will, in that state, be extinguished and cease. There will be no internal concupiscence, no external nourishment of vice, nor any allurements to pleasure, to ambition, or avarice, or any incitements of the senses or passions to wickedness. For my part, I cannot perceive by what argument, true or false, or by what impulse, internal or external, they can be moved to adhere eternally to their vices and their impiety, unless they should be hardened by God himself." pp. 346, 347.

Dr. Burnet had great confidence in the justice and equity of God. "The man whom God created, he said, "liable to fall, him, because he fell, God will not punish eternally; nor will he deprive him, to whom he has given the power, or rather the impotence and the liberty of falling into vice, of the power and liberty of relinquishing that vice. But you will say, perhaps, that God does not deprive the wicked of this power and liberty, but it proceeds from their own will, that they persist in evil immoveable and inflexible. I answer, that according to your hypothesis God has created them of such a nature, that they cannot be otherwise than inflexible and irrecoverable, after they have once departed this life, and descended into their torments. Grant me but this, that those miserable creatures are capable of repenting, and we will not throw away all hope of their being received into grace; but you deny that they can repent; I desire that you would prove that their repentance is impossible. If they continue to be reasonable creatures, indued with understanding and will, they can repent; but if they are deprived of reason and liberty, they can no longer sin." pp. 347, 348.

It might be said, in justification of the Almighty, that he is merciful in inflicting endless punishments, because he might even, had he seen fit, have annihilated the wicked, which would be a more rigorous sentence still. But in the sight of our author annihilation would be vastly preferable to endless torments. "It is much more desirable not at all to be, and to be touched by no sense, either of good or evil, than to exist in perpetual torments, without intermission, without end. This seems to me to be clear by the light of nature. Let me, O God, return into nothing; I am weary of my being; 'tis preferable much to have no sensation, than to have no sensation of anything but pain. Take, O God, says the miserable creature, deprived almost by tormenting flames of reason, take away what is thine: I had rather be out of the number of things; O let me

perish, that I may avoid perdition. This is the voice of nature; nor will we stop to make any answer to the little subtleties and quirks of the Metaphysicians. I appeal to the race of men, and to all men of sense whatever, if 'tis not more eligible to be deprived of all life, of all cogitation, of all existence, than to be tormented in eternal flames, to groan under eternal torments." pp. 350, 351.

Our author continued to reason against the endless duration of punishment from the nature of God, as revealed by nature and by the Bible. He shows, too, that the word *aionios* and other terms used to define the continuance of punishments, do not necessarily signify endless duration. They are often used in a limited sense by the inspired writers. He gives numerous quotations in proof of this point; and sums up, by saying, "Therefore, from the use and force of the aforesaid words, nothing can certainly be determined concerning the eternity of infernal punishments." He was evidently obliged sometimes to encounter bigots, with fierce and cruel tempers, for he says, "I know not by what means it happens at present, that some divines of a cruel and fiery temper are extremely pleased with eternal and infinite torments, and can hardly endure to have the point fairly examined and debated on both sides." But the ancients handled the subject much more gently and modestly, and he quotes Justin Martyr, and others, who would only say, that the wicked should be punished as long as God should will them to be punished. St. Augustin did not stigmatize the believers in the final restoration of all men, but spoke gently of them, and distinguished them as the merciful doctors. "Now (says that father) I see that I must go to work with our merciful doctors, with whom I must dispute pacifically; who are of opinion, that punishment will not be eternal, either of all those whom the most righteous judge shall pronounce worthy of the punishment of hell, or of some of them. But after the limits of a certain time, which will be longer or shorter,

according to the greatness of every one's offence, they believe that every one will be delivered from it.[1]

This is the sum of the arguments he offered against the eternity of future punishment, arguments which he expressed in a warm and animated manner. He was not a cold theorist, he uttered the language of his heart; and he predicted that the time will come when endless misery and transubstantiation will be regarded as equally absurd.

He appears to have entertained the opinion, that the doctrine he believed, although undoubtedly true, ought not to be divulged to the generality of mankind; and hence he enjoins what he calls the admonition of the Fathers, "that whatever you think in your own breast of these eternal torments, the people, too prone to vice, and as easily terrified from evil, must have the commonly received doctrine;"[2] and he adds, "if any one shall translate what has been said by learned men on this subject, into the vulgar language, they can have no good scope or view thereby."[3] Readers of the present day, will be astonished at such advice; and will feel little inclined to justify a practice based on the fallacious presumption, that error, in its effects on mankind, is better than truth.[4] It should be observed, however, that Burnet thought his doctrine might be divulged at some future time.

We have said that this work was posthumous, but that a few copies were printed for the use of the author's immediate friends during his life. One of them being found

[1] See St. Austin's Civitate Dii. lib. xx. chap. 17, and following. Also De Statu Mortuorum, pp. 361, 362.

[2] Edition of 1733, p. 366.

[3] Ibid, 367.

[4] The celebrated Dr. Watts found fault with Burnet's position. After quoting the words given above he says, "So that if this were a true doctrine, yet the learned author agrees, that neither the holy writers of the Bible, nor the fathers think it proper that the bulk of the people should know it. But if it should not be translated, I would ask why did the author write it and leave it to be published? Did he suppose all men and boys who understood Latin, to be sufficiently guarded against the abuse of such an opinion?" Works, quarto, London, 1753, vol. i. 750.

in his study after his decease, several copies more were printed, for a very few persons,[1] as it was thought by learned men a great pity that so elaborate a work should be entirely lost. But the greatest care was taken to stop their circulation; and whoever had the liberty of having the book put into his hands, was obliged upon honor not to have it transcribed, nor sent to the press. Notwithstanding all this precaution, a surreptitious edition was printed in Holland; on which Mr. Wilkinson, Burnet's friend, in whose hands were the original manuscripts, determined to publish a correct edition.[2]

WILLIAM WHISTON.

XIII. [1710–1713.] Equally learned with Tillotson and Burnet, sincere, and ardent, and uncompromising, was the renowned William Whiston, now generally known as the translator of Josephus. He succeeded them in keeping the public attention fixed on the subject of endless punishment, and in satisfying many ingenuous minds that it was not a doctrine of the divine oracles. From Tamworth School he removed to Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he soon became fellow and tutor, the latter of which offices he resigned to become chaplain to Bishop Moore. His new theory of the earth which appeared in 1696, gained him great applause; and two years after, he was presented by the Bishop to the small living of Lowestof, in Suffolk, where he devoted himself to study and his parochial duties,

[1] Who were these few persons it is impossible to say. They seem to have felt a lively interest in the fate of the book; and this circumstance demonstrates how strong a hold the doctrine of Universalism possesses over the affections even of those, who for some reason, think it prudent to conceal their faith.

[2] At what time the edition was printed in Holland, we know not. The first edition after the surreptitious ones, appeared in 1727. The second is in octavo, London, 1733. The sources of information from which the account of Burnet's work has been drawn, are: Biographia Brittanica, Art. Dr. Burnet, Biographical Dictionary, 6 vols. octavo, London, 1798. De Statu Mort, et Resurgent. quarto latin edition. Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson.

until called to Cambridge, in 1700, to become deputy to Sir Isaac Newton, whom he soon succeeded as professor of mathematics. He had not been long in this office before signs of heresy were discovered in him. Averse to all hypocrisy, he publicly acknowledged himself an Anti-Trinitarian, and published several works in defence of his sentiments. A measure so well calculated to draw on him the displeasure of the University, procured his removal from the professorship in 1710, and his banishment from the precincts of Cambridge. Patient under affliction, and regardless of scorn and persecution, he removed to London, where he with difficulty supported himself, by giving lectures on philosophy, astronomy, and divinity, and by writing on his favorite subject of primitive Christianity. "He was," as Archbishop Hare observed, "a fair, unblemished character, who all his life had cultivated piety, virtue and good learning. Constant himself in the private and public duties of religion, he promoted virtue in others, and such learning as he thought would conduce most to the honor of God, by manifesting the greatness and wisdom of his works. By his useful works of philosophy and mathematics, he endeavored to display the glory of the great Creator; and to his study of nature he early joined the study of the Scriptures." He attended the worship of the Established Church until near the close of his life; when taking exceptions to the reading of the Athanasian Creed, he forsook it, but did not live long after to pay his honors to the Supreme with any denomination. A short but severe illness terminated his earthly career, August 22, 1752.[1]

HIS WORKS AGAINST THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS TORMENTS.

XIV. Whiston had no faith in the doctrine of endless punishment through the greater part of his life; and at

[1] Lempriere.

three different times he issued publications against it. The first, printed in 1709, was an Essay, entitled, "Reason and Philosophy no enemies to Faith." "When I first wrote this work," said he, "I passed by Atherton, a market town in Warwickshire, where I staid all night with a very valuable friend of mine, Mr. Shaw, who was then a school master there, and whose worthy son was lately his successor. I left the paper with him for his perusal, that we might discourse of it in the morning; when he came to me with a good deal of surprise, that I therein had declared that I did not believe the proper eternity of hell torments; which he said was a subject he had written upon for the satisfaction of a neighboring gentleman, who made the doctrine of their eternity an almost insuperable argument against the Christian religion. But, my friend, said I, you wrote for that doctrine, I believe, because you thought it was contained in the New Testament; he confessed it was so; but, sir, said I, suppose I can show you that this doctrine is not contained in the New Testament, will not that alter the case? He confessed it would; upon which we got Dr. Hammond's discourse for that eternity, with a Greek New Testament, and the Septuagint for the Old Testament; when, in about two hours time, I demonstrated to him, that the words used about the duration of those torments in the New Testament, all over the Septuagint, whence the language of the New Testament was taken, did no where mean a proper eternity; which he confessed before I left him; and acknowledged that I had given him a freedom of thought in that matter, which he had not before."[1]

In August, 1717, Mr. Whiston drew up another small paper on the same subject, containing, as he says, "a sketch of my reasons for that opinion I had long embraced, and intimated to the world against the eternity of hell tor-

[1] Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings; London, 1749, p. 145.

ments, in my Reason and Philosophy no enemies to Faith; which was a branch of my Sermons and Essays published, A. D. 1709, pp. 219–221. But since, I vastly enlarged those reasons, and published a distinct pamphlet upon that subject afterward, of which, as mention will be made in due place hereafter, I say no more about it in this place. Only that Dr. Lee, in his excellent Exposition of the Seven Visions of Esdras, which I read over more than once in manuscript long ago, and which are now in Mr. Law's hands, is clearly of the same opinion; and blames our later divines for their rashness in that matter.[1] But Mr. Whiston's principal work on this subject came out in 1740, and a second edition of it in 1752. His latest testimony was thus borne against the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments, for the preparation of this edition was among the last acts of his valuable life. It was entitled, "The Eternity of Hell Torments considered."[2] It is a collection of texts of Scripture, and testimonies of the three first centuries concerning them, with notes and observations.[3] From these facts, we are justified in regarding Whiston, through the principal part of his long life, as an undoubted opponent of the doctrine of the endless misery of the wicked. He affirmed with positiveness that this doctrine was not founded in the Sacred Scriptures. But he was not equally certain that all mankind will eventually enjoy endless happiness. The theory of the modern Destructionists he did not hold, for he had a hope, if not a weak faith, in Universalism. Remarking on Origen's view of the salvation of the devil and the damned, he says, "all that I can see any hope for is future to the world to come and to the next age, and must therefore belong to a still future age, after the destruction of the bodies of the wicked in Gehenna, at the general resurrection. I mean as the

[1] Idem, p. 286.
[2] Life of Tillotson by Thomas Birch
[3] Ibid 376.

prophet Esdras seems to hint, that there may be in the utmost bowels of the compassion of the Almighty, another resurrection and another time of trial allotted to these miserable creatures somewhere, in which many or all of them may possibly be recovered, and saved at last by the infinite indulgence and care of their Creator. And God may still imitate his original goodness to Adam, when he was fallen; *that when he had justly cast him out of paradise, yet of his goodness he did not overlook him, nor suffer him to perish utterly,* FOR HE WAS THY CREATURE." [1]

But after all, it is doubtful whether Whiston had any very distinct views of the future condition either of the righteous or wicked. Sometimes he seems to intimate, that although the righteous will exist much longer than the wicked, neither may be strictly eternal like God in the duration of their existence, not even any finite or subordinate creature whatever.[2]

CONTROVERSY OCCASIONED BY HIS WRITINGS.

XV. There were several works in defence of endless misery, that appeared in the time embraced between the issue of Mr. Whiston's treatise, of some of which it is difficult to say whether or not they took their rise in his opposition to the doctrine referred to. Ware's "Torments of Hell" came out in 1734; and we find "The Doctrine of Hell Torments distinctly and impartially considered," which appeared in 1738, though we are not apprised of the character of the work. Still another was entitled, "The absolute and proper eternity of Hell torments, proved from Scripture, from reason, and from the natural attributes of God," and although we have never seen the work, we may safely say, that however it may have been executed,

[1] Eternity of Hell Torments considered, 2d edition, p. 129.
[2] Eternity of Hell Torments, 2d Ed. pp. 59, 60, 85.

its intent is sufficiently manifest.[1] But Mr. Whiston's principal pamphlet called forth a defence of endless misery, entitled, "The Scripture account of the eternity or endless duration of the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell, stated, explained, and vindicated. By way of reply to Mr. Whiston's late book, entitled 'The Eternity of Hell Torments,'" &c,. London, 1742. It was anonymous. But these were not all, nor indeed the principal works which appeared. Mr. (afterward Dr.) William Dodwell, Rector of Shottesbrook in Berkshire, defended the same doctrine in two sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in March, 1741, and printed there in 8vo. in 1743; in the preface to which he affirms, that the article of the eternity of future punishment "is so fundamental a part of the Christian religion, and so intimately united with its most essential doctrines, and is in itself the strongest enforcement of its practical duties, that it is scarcely possible to attack it in a more vital branch, or more to lessen the influence of this great and gracious scheme for the reformation of mankind, than by weakening the sanctions, with which the divine lawgiver has supported it."[2] The sermons of Dodwell were followed in the succeeding year, 1744, by a larger treatise, entitled "An Enquiry into the Scripture doctrine concerning the duration of Future Punishment." Its author was Matthew Horberry, B. D.

[1] There was still another work belonging to this time, with the following singular title; which shows it was not drawn out by Mr. Whiston's publications. "The Torments after Death. Dedicated to the Protestant Greek and Romish Churches. Delivered in a conference with a greater proficient in the school of Atheism, then the late Earl of Rochester. This Leviathan died in greater agonies of despair, than Francis Spira. The reason he gave for his infidelity, he said, was the doctrine of the clergy, who teach their audience what hell is not, and not what it really is." London, 1740. By Charles Povey. He did not believe in material fire, but in the stings of conscience, and the withdrawing of the presence of God.

[2] Life of Tillotson, by Thomas Birch. See "The Eternity of Future Punishment asserted and vindicated. In answer to Mr. Whiston's late Treatise on that subject. In two sermons preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday, March 21, 1741. By William Dodwell, M. A., Rector of Shottesbrook, Berkshire. Oxford, 1743.

Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and chaplain to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. Considering his task as being of an unpleasant character, he undertook it with great reluctance, being pressed into it by the Bishop. He brought forward the texts in the New Testament in which he supposed the doctrine of endless punishment to be taught, and labored to show that they inculcate nothing inconsistent with reason. His work was commenced thus: "The several treatises which have, within these late years, been published questioning the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment, and the too great success which it may be feared they have met with in a licentious and unbelieving age, may have rendered it perhaps but too necessary to examine this subject once more." Whiston's treatise received his chief attention; but there are occasional notices of "The World unmasked or the philosopher the greatest Cheat," which had been translated from the French, and published in England about eight years before.[1]

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

XVI. In that circle of lofty spirits of whom we speak in this chapter, and who agreed in discarding the eternal

[1] The full title of Mr. Horberry's work was as follows: "An Enquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the duration of Future Punishment in which the texts of the New Testament, relating to this subject are considered; and the doctrine drawn from them alone is shown to be consistent with reason. Occasioned by some late writings, and particularly Mr. Whiston's discourse of Hell Torments." By Matthew Horberry, B. D. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; and Chaplain to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. London, 1744. Dr. Horberry wrote this inquiry, as has been stated above, at the solicitation of Bishop Smalbroke. See Gent's Magazine, 1806, p. 332. The work is a large 12mo. of 313 pages.

He attempts to prove endless misery, first, by passages from the four gospels; 2d, by testimonies from the other books of the New Testament; 3d, he seeks to reconcile that doctrine with the moral perfections of God; 4th, he considers the doctrine of Universalism and seeks to show that it is not revealed in the Scriptures; 5th, he opposes the doctrine of annihilation and also the doctrine of a future probation; and 6th, he pleads for the use and importance of the doctrine of endless misery. He was evidently a man of learning and wrote not in a bad spirit.

punishment of mankind, we may name, that most illustrious of philosophers, Sir Isaac Newton. Notwithstanding the incredible labor he bestowed on other subjects, he gave himself time to think, and speak and write upon religion. Whiston, a man of the strictest veracity, and one who, from his intimate acquaintance, had every opportunity of knowing the opinions of Sir Isaac, declares that their views were the same on the subject of eternal punishment.[1] That this incomparable genius swerved widely from the standard of what is now called orthodoxy, cannot, for a moment, be disputed; and it is equally well known, that he deposited his sentiments in the bosoms of his particular friends; on subjects concerning which his views were not generally known until after his death. Nor can we have confidence that he did not develop his mind in his unpublished manuscripts, since it is laid to the charge of Bishop Horsely that he had suppressed some of his papers.[2] In his paraphrase upon Revelation xiv. 10, 11, he says, "The degree and duration of the torment of these degenerate and anti-christian people, should be no other than would be approved of by those angels who had ever labored for their salvation, and that Lamb who had redeemed them with his most precious blood."[3]

DR. SAMUEL CLARKE.

XVII. The statement which we have here made concerning Sir Isaac Newton, may be repeated in reference to

[1] "It is now about forty years ago, that in my small discourse, entitled 'Reason and Philosophy no enemies to Faith,' I declared my opinion against the proper eternity of the torments of hell. In my Historical Memoirs of the life of Dr. Clarke also, written twenty-one years ago, I mentioned a small paper of mine, written about the year 1717, but not then, nor since published, containing some reasons of that my opinion. When I said withal, 'that I thought I might venture to add, upon the credit of what I had discovered of the opinions of Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Clarke, that they were both of the same sentiments of that matter.'" Eternity of Hell Torments, &c., 2d Edition. London 1752, p. 3.

[2] Sparks' Essays and Tracts, ii. 230.

[3] Whiston's Eternity of Hell Torments, 2d Edition, p. 47.

that sound and amiable divine, Dr. Samuel Clarke. Whiston knew him well, and wrote a memoir of his life; and he gives his testimony concerning the Dr's rejection of the doctrine of endless misery, from what he himself had discovered of his sentiments.[1] Clarke was a sincere inquirer after truth. He supposed that very few thinking men, could really believe in the doctrine of endless torture.

DR. GEORGE CHEYNE DEFENDS UNIVERSALISM.

XVIII. Contemporary with Whiston lived Dr. George Cheyne, and the Chevalier Ramsay, the former a physician, the latter a man of letters, and both indisputably Universalists. Dr. Cheyne was educated at Edinburgh; at the age of thirty removed to London, and resided in England during the remainder of his life, which was protracted to the mature age of seventy-two. He died in 1743. Among the works he wrote, the best known, is his treatise entitled, "Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion;" and it is in this that he asserts his belief of the final salvation of all mankind. There is no elaborate defence of this particular doctrine, nor even a general exposition of the evidences by which it is sustained; but it is involved in his reasoning, and it is plainly and directly, but briefly stated. He maintained that there is a principle of action in intelligent beings, analagous to that of attrac-

[1] "About the year 1717, I wrote a small paper, not yet published, containing very briefly the reasons for what I had eight years before declared to be my opinion, in the Sermons and Essays, p. 220, 221, *against* the proper eternity of the torments of hell. And think I may venture to add, upon the credit of what I discovered of the opinions of Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Clarke, they were both of the same sentiments. Nay, Dr. Clarke thought, that "few or no thinking men were really of different sentiments in that matter." And as to myself, to speak my mind freely, I have many years thought, that the common opinion in this matter, if it were for certain a real part of Christianity, would be a more insuperable objection against it than any or all the present objections of unbelievers put together." Memoirs of Dr. Clarke, London, 1748. p. 75.

tion in the material system, which is the principle of reunion with the first cause, who "infinitely powerful, and perfect, must necessarily subject, draw and unite all intelligent beings to himself, to make them as happy as their respective natures can admit." He is the sole object of their happiness, and they must be brought to him to enjoy it. "This happiness is the very end of their creation, it being impossible infinite perfection should make intelligent beings, for any less, or any other end."[1]

THE CHEVALIER RAMSAY.

XIX. Andrew Michael Ramsay, commonly called the Chevalier, was like Dr. Cheyne, a Scotchman, and was born at Ayr, June 9th, 1686. After receiving his education at Edinburgh, he travelled into Holland. In 1710, he visited the celebrated Fenelon, at Cambray, by whom he was persuaded to embrace the Catholic faith. By the friendship and patronage of this great man, he obtained an honorable situation as tutor to one of the French Dukes, and to the Prince of Turrene. He was afterwards at Rome, engaged in the education of the children of the Pretender; but becoming disgusted at the petty quarrels, and immoral lives of the Catholics, he returned to Scotland, where he was received with favor. In 1730, he was honored by the University of Oxford with a Doctor's degree, and he excited the attention of many of the learned men of England. He died in France, in 1743, while in the service of his friend and patron the Duc de Turrene. Besides several other works, he wrote the history of M. de Turrene, and the life of the learned and amiable Fenelon.

[1] Philosophical Principles, edition 1715.

HIS WORKS FAVOR UNIVERSALISM.

XX. Those works in which he favors the doctrine of Universalism, are the "Travels of Cyrus," and "Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion." The former was regarded by critics as the best of all his writings. It is fictitious, though many important facts are incorporated into it. It was pronounced by Voltaire, a feeble imitation of Fenelon's celebrated Telemachus. Cyrus, a young prince, afterward King of Persia, is the hero of the story; and in the course of his travels, he passes through various countries, studying their manners, their laws and their religions. He visits the Magi; he learns the history and views of Zoroaster; he reads the books of Hermes; he converses with Pythagoras; becomes acquainted with the religion of the Hebrews; and derives from Daniel, the prophet of the Most High, what the author supposed to be the doctrine of pure religion. Thus the young prince, passing through the various degrees of improvement which the philosophers made upon one another, arrives at last at the knowledge of a perfect system of truth; and perceives that in the religion of all nations, how wrong soever, there is a very striking similarity. The different Philosophers with whom he conversed successively unfolded to him new truths mixed with errors. Zoroaster confutes the mistakes of the Magi; Pythagoras those of Zoroaster; the Hebrew priests those of Pythagoras; and Daniel, representing a perfect Christian, rejects the misconceptions of all the rest. The dogma of endless misery is not contained in the perfect system which Daniel teaches the young prince, who had learned from Eleazer, the Hebrew, that God "drew spirits out of nothing to make them happy; and he punishes them that they may return into order." [1]

[1] Boston (Mass.) edition, p. 226.

"The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion," is an elaborate production. It is divided into two parts, in the first of which the author endeavors to demonstrate "that the great principles of Natural Religion are founded upon the most invincible evidence; and that the essential doctrines of Revealed Religion are perfectly conformable to reason." In the second he attempts to show, "that vestiges of all the principal doctrines of the Christian Religion are to be found in the monuments, writings or mythologies of all nations, ages or religions."

He maintains in the first part, that "God's design in creating finite intelligences could only be to make them eternally happy, in the knowledge and love of his boundless perfections." "All reasonable agents act for an end. This end must be either doing good to themselves or to others. God's design in creating could not be to do good to himself, and therefore it must be to do good to others." He maintained also, that "Eternal Providence desires, wills and employs continually all the means necessary to lead intelligent creatures to their ultimate and supreme happiness." "Almighty power, wisdom and love cannot be eternally frustrated in his absolute and ultimate designs: therefore, God will at last pardon and re-establish in happiness all lapsed beings."

We have, in the Chevalier Ramsay, the rare specimen of a Roman Catholic Universalist; and the warm patronage bestowed on him by Fenelon, to whom his sentiments were well known, brings the religious opinions of the latter into question. The Travels of Cyrus may well be supposed to have been written after the Chevalier became an admirer of this distinguished French divine; and the Philosophical Principles was a posthumous work; so that it is tolerably certain both were written after their author made a profession of the Catholic religion. But he died in the bosom of the Mother Church, while a warm adherent to sentiments

she had repeatedly renounced as the most damnable heresy.

DANIEL DE FOE HINTS AT UNIVERSALISM.

XXI. [1720.] In persuing the history of Whiston, we were led almost insensibly out of the pale of the Established Church; for we have seen, that although at first attached thereto, he in the end, died a dissenter. Neither was Cheyne, or the Chevalier Ramsay, a member of the establishment. Although there are some other members of the national church, belonging to this period, who must receive our attention, we shall not for the present turn away our attention from the dissenters. Daniel de Foe was the author of several works; of which the best known is Robinson Crusoe, which appeared about 1720. From obscurity and poverty he rose to pre-eminence and fame, and the merits which his works possessed gained him the friendship of literary men. He continued through life in the profession of an orthodox nonconformist, nor did he escape the imputation of being an enemy to religious liberty. It has, however, been conjectured, in the following passage by Dr. Kippis, that the author of Robinson Crusoe might possibly have been disposed to soften the rigors of Calvinism in one essential point.

"Many fine displays of natural sentiment occur in Robinson Crusoe's man Friday; and there is one which, on reading it, appeared to the present writer particularly striking. It is in the conversation which Crusoe has with Friday concerning the Devil. Friday, being informed by his master that God was stronger than the Devil, asks, *if God much strong, much might as the Devil, why God not kill the Devil, so make him no more wicked?* At this question Crusoe was greatly surprised and embarrassed; but, having recovered himself a little, he answered, God would at last punish the Devil severely, that he is reserved for judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to dwell with everlasting fire. Still, however, Friday not being satisfied, returns upon his master, repeating his words, *Reserve at last, me no understand: but why not kill the Devil now? not kill him great ago?* You may as well ask me, replied Crusoe, why God does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him;

we are preserved to repent and be pardoned. At this Friday mused awhile, and then said, mighty affectionately, *well, well, that well; so you, I, Devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.* Perhaps it would be going too far to assert that De Foe intended covertly to insinuate that there might be a more merciful distribution of things, in the final result of Divine Providence, than he dared at that time openly to exhibit." [1] Thus far Dr. Kippis.

DR. WATTS SPEAKS DOUBTFULLY OF ENDLESS PUNISHMENT.

XXII. The character of Dr. Watts is universally known. As a poet, as a man of learning and piety, his praise has long been on every tongue; and among the dissenters in England, he won the highest fame. The following extract from one of his sermons will show, that even while he openly defended the doctrine in question, his mind was not free from strong doubts upon the subject:

"Whensoever any such criminal in hell shall be found making such a sincere and mournful address to the righteous and merciful judge of all; if, at the same time, he is truly humble and penitent for his past sins, and is grieved at his heart for having offended his Maker, and melts into sincere repentance; I cannot think that a God of perfect equity and rich mercy will continue such a creature under his vengeance, but rather that the perfections of God will contrive a way for escape, though God has not given us here, any revelation or discovery of such special grace as this." [2]

Again he says, in the same work:

"I grant that the eternity of God himself, before this world began, or after its consummation, has something in it so immense and so incomprehensible, that in my most mature thoughts I do not choose to enter into those infinite abysses; nor do I think we ought usually, when we speak concerning creatures, to affirm positively, that their existence shall be equal to that of the blessed God, *especially with regard to the duration of punishment.* Perhaps this sort of language may carry in it something beyond what we are called to discourse about, at least in this mortal state; and, therefore, such comparisons are more safely omitted." [3]

[1] Monthly Repository, xiii. 659.

[2] See his work entitled, "World to Come," in his works, quarto, London edition, 1753, vol. i. p. 738. Also, Monthly Repository, xiv. 90.

[3] Idem, p. 732. Notwithstanding Watts wrote largely and earnestly in favor of endless misery, yet he was evidently distressed and puzzled with that doctrine. He felt obliged to make the concessions here quoted

DR. PHILIP DODDRIDGE EXPRESSES DOUBTS.

XXIII. Of the candor, benevolence, meekness and learning of Dr. Doddridge, it is utterly unnecessary to speak. Dr. Samuel Clarke was his instructor, and afterward his faithful guardian. As the preceptor of an academy, an office he filled through the greater part of his life, he sustained the highest rank; his useful labors and exalted character secured him the esteem of the learned and the admiration of all parties.

Concerning endless punishment he says, "We cannot pretend to decide *a priori*, or previous to the event, so far to say, that the punishments of hell must and will certainly be eternal."[1] Nevertheless, the good Doctor thought it not proper "positively to determine" that they would have an end.

REV. JOHN BARKER, A UNIVERSALIST.

XXIV. No one who looked on Universalism as a false and dangerous doctrine, could have enjoyed the extatic pleasure felt by Dr. Doddridge on the reception of the letter containing the following extracts, from his friend Mr. J. Barker.

"Yet, it is so; we read in the book of God, that word of truth and gospel of our salvation, that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. . . . . Yes, Doddridge, it is so. The fruit

Southey, in his Life of Watts, "thinks that he finds in a detached sentence or two, evidence that the poet cherished the opinion of Origen respecting eternal punishment." Biblical Repository, v. 253.

In his Memoir of Watts, Southey says, after having quoted a passage from his works: "This is a most curious passage. While on the one hand it expresses, in the strongest and most unequivocal terms, that the writer believed the doctrine of eternal punishment, because he found it plainly to his understanding declared in Scripture, it implies on the other, as obviously as words can imply a meaning, an opinion that the Almighty has some secret and mitigating decree, *alla mente reportum*, and that Watts himself agreed, in his latent belief, with Origen and the Universalists." See Sacred Classics, vol. ix. p. 59.

[1] Theolog. Lectures, prop. 163.

of our Redeemer's sufferings and victory is the entire and eternal destruction of sin and death. And is it not a glorious destruction? a most blessed ruin? No enemy so formidable, no tyranny so bitter, no fetters so heavy and galling, no prison so dark and dismal, but they are vanquished and disarmed; the unerring dart is blunted and broken, the prison pulled down and rased. Our Lord is risen, as the first fruits of them that slept."[1]

At the time of the reception of this letter, Dr. Doddridge was very dangerously ill; and it is said by his biographer, that "the friendship expressed in it, and the divine consolation which it administered so deeply affected him, that there was reason to be apprehensive that his tender frame would have sunk under the emotions of his gratitude and joy."[2]

DR. EDWARD YOUNG. REASONS FOR THINKING HE DOUBTED ENDLESS TORTURE.

XXV. Equally well known with either of the foregoing, and greater even than Watts perhaps, as a poet, was Dr. Edward Young. To many it will seem the height of folly and presumption to intimate that a man who has, as it were, sung the praises of hell, had any doubts of the strict eternity of punishment. But doubts of this kind have sometimes existed in the minds of those who have been generally regarded as invulnerable to them; and we have some facts to submit in the case of Dr. Young, which we cannot account for, admitting that he believed in endless punishment. It is a probable conjecture, that, like Tillotson's famous sermon, some of Young's most forcible passages, in which his genius seems to riot in the description of hell, were designed by him as a covert exposure of the

[1] Orton's Memoirs of Doddridge, Salop Ed., 1766, pp. 326, 327. The author of this Letter was Rev. Mr. John Barker, minister of the gospel in London. If he had faith in his letter to Dr. Doddridge, he must have been a Universalist. His sermons published after his death, make no mention of his faith in this particular. Possibly he did not embrace it until the latter part of his life; and if he left any manuscripts in its defence, they have not been published.

[2] See the life of Dr. Doddridge prefixed to his works. London Ed. 1792.

awfulness and unlikehood of his theme. A writer in the Monthly Repository [1] had this impression, and refers to the following extracts as instances.

The damned sinner in hell is represented as making the following just and powerful apppeal:

"Why burst the barriers of my peaceful grave
Ah! cruel death! that would no longer save,
But grudg'd me e'en that narrow, dark abode,
And cast me out into the wrath of God;
Where shrieks, the roaring flame, the rattling chain,
And all the dreadful eloquence of pain,
My only song; black fire's malignant light,
The sole refreshment of the blasted sight.
Must all those pow'rs heaven gave me to supply
My soul with pleasure, and bring in my joy,
Rise up in arms against me, join the foe,
Sense, *reason*, *memory*, increase my woe?
And shall my voice ordained on hymns to dwell,
Corrupt to groans, and blow the fires of hell?
Oh! must I look with terror on my gain,
And with *existence* only measure *pain?*
What? no reprieve, no least indulgence giv'n,
No beam of hope from any point of heav'n!
Ah! Mercy! Mercy! art thou dead above?
Is Love extinguished in the source of Love?"

No man who did not feel the justness of this plea could have set it forth so powerfully.

Again.

"Father of Mercies! why from silent earth
Didst thou awake and *curse* me into birth?
Tear me from quiet, ravish me from night?
And make a thankless present of thy light?
Push into being a reverse of thee,
And animate a clod with misery?
The *beasts* are happy, they come forth and keep
Short watch on earth, and then lie down to sleep.
Pain is for man; and oh! how vast a pain
For crimes which made the Godhead bleed in vain!
Annull'd his groans, as far as in them lay,
And flung his agonies and death away!

[1] Vol. xi. p. 463.

As our dire punishment forever strong,
Our constitution too forever young,
Curs'd with returns of vigor, still the same
Pow'rful to bear, and satisfy the flame:
Still to be caught, and still to be pursued!
To perish still and still to be renewed!
And this, *my Help*, *my God*, at thy decree?
Nature is chang'd, and hell should succor me.
And canst thou then look down from perfect bliss,
And see me plunging in the dark abyss?
Calling thee Father in a sea of fire?
Or pouring blasphemies at Thy desire?
With mortals' anguish wilt Thou raise Thy name?
And by my pangs omnipotence proclaim?" [1]

Can it be supposed that Dr. Young did not see the plain sense of the following passage from his "Night Thoughts." ?

"Who, without pain's advice, would e'er be good?
Who, without death, but would be good in vain?
Pain is to save from pain, *all punishment*
To make for peace; and death, to save from death:
And second death to guard immortal life!
By the same tenderness divine ordained,
That planted Eden, and high bloomed for man,
A fairer Eden endless in the skies.
Great source of *good alone*, how kind in all!
In vengeance kind! Pain, death, Gehenna, save."

Still further to confirm the opinion we have expressed, we may remark, that Dr. Young was a great admirer of "Hartley on Man," a work in which Universalism is vigorously defended. It gave him "great satisfaction," a fact hardly to be accounted for, if he thought one of its principal doctrines a dangerous error. In his commendation, he had particular reference to that part which will give pleasure to men who think themselves immortal. He referred to the fact of its having gainsayers, and of its manifesting the author's *freedom* of thought, yet he does not

[1] See "The Last day," a poem, Book iii.

qualify his praise. See the following letter, addressed to the celebrated Samuel Richardson, author of Pamelia.

May 8th, 1749.

Dear Sir — When I was in town, I asked you if you had read Dr. Hartley's book. You told me you had not. I was sorry for it, for I have a curiosity to know your opinion of it. I have since read it a second time, and with great satisfaction. It is certainly a work of distinction; by men of distinction therefore, it ought to be read. It is calculated for men of sense. I make no doubt but that it has its gainsayers; but therefore it is a proper subject for your discussion and discernment. So few books have any thing new in them, that those which have are entitled to our particular regard. All I will venture to say about it is, that there is no man who seriously considers himself immortal, but will find his pleasure, if not his profit in it. And if you are not one of those men, you have greatly imposed on, dear sir,

Your very affectionate and most humble servant. E. Young.

P. S. It is evident that Dr Hartley has thought for himself, a character without which no writer can be of any considerable value. And thus far the author I recommend to your perusal resembles yourself, which is a sort of bribe to you in his favor.[1]

The following extract will confirm the opinion to which the foregoing epistle must have given rise in the reader's mind. It is taken from the first of Young's Moral Letters.

"Great God, strike, break this hard heart and soften it. Great God, have pity upon me, save me from my own fury: if I am culpable, thou knowest how to pardon. Hast thou not always for me the compassion of a father? Am I not thy son? Am I not the workmanship of thy hands? Do not disdain it, do not destroy it; vengeance is painful to thee — thy pleasure is to save and not to destroy. It is in thy goodness I place my resource, my hope. For who am I? a frail mixture of objection, and of weakness — an atom — an insect, who lives only for a space of a morning and abideth not until the evening — a light vapor — a breath — a vain shade which wandereth a while through uncertainty and danger, then vanisheth. That all powerful arm, which with a light shock, can overturn the Universe, canst thou extend it against so frail a being? Ah! even thy greatness defends me against thyself. If I am unworthy thy clemency, I am also of thy anger. Dost thou forget I am but dust? Yes! thou recollectest thy own glory. Art thou not a pardoning God? Dost thou not create to render happy? and punish to preserve?"

[1] This letter is extracted from the "Correspondence of Richardson." See also Month. Repos. i. 656.

We add but one more fact. The Rev. Richard Clarke, formerly Rector of St. Phillip's, Charleston, S. C., and afterwards Lecturer at Stoke Newington, near London, wrote several works in defence of Universal Restoration. With these Dr. Young was well acquainted, and particularly recommended some of them.[1]

SAMUEL COLLIBER, DOUBTS THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS MISERY.

XXVI. We turn from De Foe, Watts, Doddridge, and Young, to a class of writers who have treated the subject of man's future destiny more philosophically than they; and here introduce the name of a not very conspicuous individual, Samuel Colliber, who wrote and caused to be issued a work entitled "An important Inquiry into the Existence and Nature of God." The third edition appeared in London in 1735, and the first as early as 1718. It was a modest essay towards a more intelligible account of the divine perfections. It contained criticisms on several authors, ancient and modern, and particularly on some passages in Dr. Clarke's work entitled, "Demonstrations of the being and attributes of God." Colliber evidently believed in a very severe punishment hereafter, and in the necessity of its being preached. Men, he thought, would not be sufficiently moved, by the present rewards of virtue or punishments of vice. Still he did not believe that punishment will be eternal. The fearful descriptions which we find in the Bible were designed to arouse the unthinking; and while he did not believe in the endless duration of torture, he thought there would be a sufficient difference between the states of the righteous and the wicked to compensate for the apparent inequalities in the providence of God, which he thought he discovered in the present world. Speaking on this subject, he says, "That no natural means can be imagined more directly to tend to the *preventing*

[1] See the Life of Elhanan Winchester, by Vidler, p.41.

this greatest of evils, and by consequence to the attaining the chief end of the most wise and beneficent governor of the world than the allurements of *rewards* and terrors of *punishments*, is, I think, too clear to be doubted. Virtue is indeed in some respects, its own reward ; and vice, since it naturally tends to make us unhappy, may be said to be its own punishment. But of this we are usually either very little sensible, or possessed with an opinion of the contrary. We find by experience that the inward satisfaction which springs from acts of charity and humanity, would prove but a faint encouragement to most men, without the hope of glory and applause, or some other recompense. And on the contrary the regret that attends an ill or barbarous action, would be very ineffectual to restrain a Robber or a Murderer, without the additional terror of a wheel or a gibbet. For which reason the Scriptures accommodated themselves to our insensibility, and rouse us from our lethargy by all the charms of happiness and terror of misery. They promise us no less than an *Eternity of happiness* in a future state as a reward for our endeavoring to render ourselves and others happy by our obedience in the present state, and though we should persuade ourselves that the account the Scriptures give of the severity and endless duration of the state of *misery*, with which they threaten *disobedience*, was proposed to us by the most wise governor of the world, only for the better securing the most beneficent ends of his government, by striking a greater terror into the less sensible part of mankind ; yet we may not doubt but the difference between those two states will be such as shall (at least) make the necessary compensation for the present unequal distribution of things. Of the reasonableness of such compensation the very heathens were generally convinced. Their *Metamorphoses and Transmigrations* were, for the most part, no other than *hypotheses* invented to solve the honor of the divine government by future retributions. And many of their wisest theorists

observing so faint an impression the severest penalties, when under the notion of future, are wont to make on the minds of men, concluded it necessary to represent the penalties of the future state to be not only the most severe, but endless and irremediable. Of this the *Epicurean poet* Socretius is an unexceptionable witness; who pretends the fear of eternal punishment to have been the original of all Religion." [1]

R. ROACH, B. D., A UNIVERSALIST.

XXVII. This writer was an open and unqualified believer in the final holiness and happiness of all men. He was probably a clergyman of the established church. The only book of his which we have seen, is entitled, "The Imperial Standard of Messiah Triumphant, coming now in the power and kingdom of his Father, to reign with his Saints on Earth." Published in London, about 1730. This is clearly and thoroughly a Universalist work, advocating without fear or any kind of concealment, the great and glorious doctrine of the final happiness of all men. One chapter especially is devoted to the confirmation of that doctrine. See pp. 189–204. The author first proves the doctrine from the attributes of God, and from the Scriptures, and then answers the principal objections against it. Some persons, in his day, had argued the absolute eternity of misery from the words of Solomon, Eccle. xi. 3: "In the place where the tree falleth, there it shall lie." To this he replied in the following terms:

"However, let it be granted, for argument's sake according to the other interpretation, that 'as the tree falls so it lies;' or, that into whatever

[1] Impartial Inquiry, London, 1735, pp. 130, 131. Mr. Adam, in his Religious World Displayed, puts down Mr. Colliber as an undoubted Universalist. See vol. iii. p. 388. Of Colliber's works we have seen the "Impartial Inquiry" from which the above extract has been made and "Two Essays on Natural and Revealed Religion," &c., &c. London, 1729. Although this writer did not believe in eternal punistment, as many hold it, yet he believed in the eternal loss of the heavenly felicity, which would be the cause of endless regret, or a kind of negative punishment.

state the soul enters after death, *there it continues;* it will by no means hence follow, that it must continue there *forever*, in a strict sense; or that the preacher here undertakes to determine the point *how long* it is to continue, it being enough for the argument thence to be drawn, that the soul has *then no present opportunity* of exercising this grace, but is gone into the state of receiving the award of its merits or demerits, without regard to the *duration* or *degree* of punishment in the latter. But as 'a tree falling' has *no power to raise itself*, yet, if an artist, a carpenter, shall raise it, it may be prepared, fitted and adapted into a building, or serve to other good uses; *so*, a soul falling into a state of suffering, awarded by the justice of God, though it may have no power *to raise itself*, yet, as the *mercy* of God and the *power* of grace shall be extended to it, it *may be raised*, prepared and adapted into *the temple building of God*, and become a member of the church or body of Christ.[1]

Nor, lastly, is it to be supposed that Solomon, with all his wisdom, should possess the knowledge of the secret decree of God, concerning the utmost latitude of grace, he being but *under the law;* and such a manifestation rather belonging to the dispensation of *the gospel* in full, as the due time for its testification.[2]

'All things are of God, of whom are all things;' and as they all existed in his eternal idea, so he could have no immediate regard to himself in producing them. *Goodness*, therefore, or benevolence, must have been the chief spring of action in the Deity, in the work of creation, and especially that of his rational offspring.

Thus the eye of prophesy looks through and beyond the general judgment at the end of this world, and the execution of its sentence on the impenitent, and represents another judgment seat, whereon *love divine* shall sit triumphant and supreme, with which *justice*, now fully satisfied, shall coalesce and combine, pronouncing the general sentence of release and amnesty, and absorbing all into itself as into a boundless and unfathomable ocean; when *all rational natures* shall have passed through their several states of purification which were before 'found wanting,' and the long lost spirit shall return to its great original; then will this general redemption be accomplished, and the mediating office of our great high priest be at an end, for he will then deliver up the kingdom thus completed to his Father, that 'God may be all in all!'''

Roach thus maintains that God must be all in all, (1 Cor. xv. 28,) in the fullest sense. God is all love, and hence his must be love to all. The proudest wills must bow before love. The author maintained, that the words used to signify

[1] Idem, pp. 193, 194. [2] Idem, 194.

the duration of punishment may have a limited signification. Various passages, which have been used to prove the doctrine of endless misery, are explained in the work before us, consistently with Universalism; for it was the opinion of the author that the Bible clearly and explicitly reveals that doctrine.

MR. WILLIAM DUDGEON, A UNIVERSALIST.

XXVIII. We have seen no writings of this age which approach more nearly to the sentiments of the Universalists of our own time, than those of Mr. William Dudgeon, whose philosophical works first appeared in the year 1732. We have looked in vain to all the common sources of biography for an account of this gentleman, whom we cannot but regard as a profound philosopher in the science of the divine government, the human will, the moral constitution and the destiny of man. He published several dissertations, the first of which was a consideration of the state of the moral world, or a vindication of the divine government; showing that there is no other evil in the world than that which arises from the necessary imperfections of creatures; and that this life is a state of discipline, to train us up in virtue, by which we are fitted for a more perfect society, capable of greater happiness in a future state of existence.

In replying to the argument that vice often flourishes and virtue often falls into distress in this world, and that therefore the former must be punished and the latter rewarded hereafter, he said:

"Was it true that the order of things is perverted here, this argument drawn from it in proof of a future state, in which all things are to be set to rights, proveth rather the contrary. For if things are wrong in this state, it is a shrewd presumption, that they will be always so, else they must say that he is another sort of governor who ruleth in the next state, than he who governeth in this: harmony, order and design must be begun

here; else we can never expect that they will be improving in the other world. So that upon this scheme where everything is as good as can be, there being no other disorder, vice or misery, but what necessarily ariseth from the finite and imperfect nature of creatures in this their state of infancy, who are still improving by experience and discipline, and attaining greater and greater degrees of perfection, virtue and happiness, which of course fits them for a more perfect society; upon this scheme, I say, a future state can only be built. This added to the natural proofs of the soul's immateriality and immortality, and to that brought from the inconsistency with the infinite power, wisdom and goodness of the Creator, who made creatures to be happy, to annihilate them, and so deprive them of it, will amount to the completest demonstration possible, except immediate possession." [1]

Again, he says, with equal discrimination:

"This state, then, cannot be called a state of trial, seeing the Deity certainly knows what all his creatures will do, they doing no other thing than what he designed they should do.

I have called it a state of discipline to train us up in virtue, which you see it is. For as we know that God, who is perfectly happy of himself, could have no other exciting reason to create us, but his own infinite goodness to make us happy, it is impossible that it could be otherwise, but that when we were created innocent and naked, or without knowledge of what tended to our happiness, and what not, we should be sent here in our imperfect state to improve. And as it is inconsistent with the goodness of God, who made us to be happy, with his wisdom, who could contrive the means to it, and with his power to execute them, to annihilate us, and so deprive us of it; we may certainly conclude that he will take us to another state, when we are fit to act our part there, where we will be still improving, — those who are farthest advanced here in virtue and knowledge being capable of the greatest happiness in the next state, which is a strong motive to excite us to the practice of virtue in this life." [2]

The second dissertation in the work before us, is entitled, "A Letter to the Author of the State of the Moral World considered; wherein some satisfying account is attempted to be given of the nature of virtue and vice, the origin of moral evil, and the end and duration of future punishment." This dissertation was first published in 1734. One position which our author assumes here, is,

"That the only way to reconcile the admission of moral evil with the

[1] Philosoph. Works, edition of 1765, pp. 31, 32.
[2] Ibid, pp. 41, 42.

government of an infinitely wise and good being, is by saying, that it is a necessary imperfection; and that the whole of our duration, both in this and another world, is a state of discipline, in which we are only punished for our future good and reformation; or that the end, the only end consistent with the goodness of God in annexing punishment to vice, is to make us wiser and better."

In one part of his dissertation, this author seems almost to take ground against the existence of misery in the future state, though perhaps he did not intend to be strictly so understood:

"I shall conclude this subject, with considering some other arguments usually urged in favor of eternal torments; for, though perhaps the absurdity of positive punishments may be granted, yet it is thought, there are other reasons that lay a foundation for eternal misery. As, first, it is alleged by some, that we contract habits of vice here, which we go out of this world hardened in, and that these remain equally violent in another world; and that, therefore, since we then want the object of their gratification, we must of course be forever miserable. But to this the answer is very easy; for who does not see, that all vicious habits, depend entirely upon the body, they will be dropped with it at death. And in this appears evidently the necessity of death, and the great wisdom and goodness of our Creator in so ordering things, that whatever habits of vice we contract here, yet we can carry none of these with us to the other world; whereas our improvements in knowledge and habits of virtue, have, as I observed before, no dependence at all upon the body; even those vicious habits that are commonly thought to have the least dependence upon the body, pride, anger, envy, resentment, revenge, &c., are either owing to the strength of some selfish passion, or to a mistake of ourselves or others, as I showed before, and so must either cease at death, or go off, as we improve in knowledge, goodness, and acquaintance with others." pp. 146, 147.

He concludes his reasonings against eternal punishment by saying:

"The only remaining argument I know urged for everlasting punishment, is that taken from the New Testament, where it is thought to be plainly asserted. To which I answer, that the most Orthodox divines allow, that the several expressions there made use of to denote the misery attending vice in another world, such as bad men's being driven from the presence of God; the worm that never dies, lake of brimstone, a bottomless pit, everlasting, flaming, and unquenchable fire, utter darkness, smoke, chains, &c., are

merely metaphorical, and must indeed be so, unless the most inconsistent things can be reconciled; and, therefore, I think I may safely conclude, that all the stress that can or ought to be laid on these is, that misery must be forever the necessary consequence of vice, or as long as we are finite creatures, which will be forever, and that that way of describing the matter is calculated on for popular conceptions. And certainly this is as just and natural an explication of the word *everlasting*, as is that which they give of the words fire, darkness, worms, chains, &c., or of the emblems under which heaven is represented, feasting, marrying, &c., which are all short and temporary actions. But if, from what I have said upon this subject, any shall still think fit to judge me no Christian, as the most part are taught to do of all those that are not of those opinions they reckon Christianity, all I can do, is to assure such that I am a sincere friend to Christianity, as taught in the gospel, and particularly in the doctrines of its founder, which are as different from those taught in schools and systems, as charity is from bigotry, and more a friend than those who have fathered such doctrines upon it, as are inconsistent both with itself, and with common sense." pp. 153–155.

VENN'S WORK IN FAVOR OF ENDLESS MISERY.

XXIX. A work of which we can make no great account, appeared in 1740, in defence of the doctrine of endless misery. It was entitled, "The Eternity of Hell Torments asserted;" and was written by Rev. Richard Venn, A. M., at one time Rector of St. Antholin's, London. He aimed, first, to prove the truth of the doctrine of endless torments, and, second, to justify the infliction of such torments. In the third place he answered certain objections to his theory, and lastly endeavored to show what influence the doctrine ought to have on our lives and conversation. He makes one honest confession in the course of his pamphlet. "I am sensible with what disadvantage we plead our doctrine against its adversaries, who upbraid us that our sentiments proceed from ill nature."

BISHOP WARBURTON'S DIVINE LEGATION.

XXX. The British public were surprised in the year 1738, by the appearance of a work, (written by one of the most eminent of the Bishops of the Established Church,)

which it comes within our province to notice, although it neither explicitly affirms nor denies the truth of the doctrine of endless misery: We refer to Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. We say it neither *explicitly* denies or affirms the truth of that doctrine; though the careful reader will be persuaded that the learned Bishop had no faith in it, but inclined rather to the contrary belief of the final happiness of all men. But there is one point on which he was fully satified, viz. that we find not in the Old Testament the slightest recognition of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, either endless or limited. He argues this point at great length. He makes it the key stone of his system. Although he believed in the doctrine of a future *limited* punishment; although he believed such a doctrine necessary to the welfare of civil society; and although he believed that all the wisest of the ancient law-givers and founders of civil policy taught that doctrine, still (paradoxical as it may seem) he sought to prove that the religion of Moses was divine, from the omission of it. His system was this: The inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, is necessary to the well-being of civil society, and all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of such use to civil society; but still it is not to be found in, nor did it make a part of, the Mosaic dispensation. From these allegations he made the inference, that the Jewish religion never could have been sustained without the interposition of God, who, in the place of the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, did set up among the Jews, by special providence, that equal order of things, in regard to virtue and vice, by which every action received in the present state of being a just recompense of reward. Here God's own hand was even more visible than if the Jewish religion had been founded upon the wisdom of all past ages; for although

the doctrine of future rewards and punishments is true, and is so necessary that no civil government can exist without it, yet by the special providence of God, the Jewish religion did exist without it, and, therefore, the Jewish religion was divine.[1]

This work produced no small excitement at the time of its publication; though of late it has been but little read. Some writer has said, it smote Trojan and Tyrian. It was a two-handed engine, ready to batter down infidel and orthodox alike, if they ventured to oppose an obstacle to its autocratic progress. The work has never taken a place among those which have been most relied on to prove the truth of the Old Testament books. It is somewhat remarkable that it did not occur to Bishop Warburton, if the doctrine of future rewards and punishments was taught among the heathen, and formed no part of God's religion which he bestowed upon the Jews, that it was to be regarded as a heathen doctrine and not a divine one; and as the fact of the equality of God's providence among mankind was fully taught by Moses, the servant of God, whether this circumstance should not lead us to suspect that the common notion of the *present* inequality of God's ways may be erroneous. It is a fact that while Moses never sought for sanctions to his laws in the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, he perpetually alluded to an equal providence (a Providence which dispensed the blessings and curses of this life with a strict reference to human conduct) as that under which the Israelites were living. He gave the Jews no hint that the doctrine of future retribution was true, and was necessary to keep civil society together; but that its place was supplied by an equal providence to them, which no other nation ever did or would enjoy. Those nations, who beheld God's dealings with the Jews, were not assured that God dealt with others on an entirely different principle. We are no where assured

[1] See Divine Legation, edition, London, 1811, vol. v. p. 164.

in the gospel, that God would deal with men on very different principles from those on which he dealt with the Jews, under the law; but on the contrary, the fact that every sin was adequately punished under the law, was adduced to show that the same course would be pursued by the great Governor among the nations, under the gospel, the milder dispensation of his grace.

But whatever error there may have been in the main argument of Bishop Warburton, there was one part which he proved in the most conclusive manner, viz: that there is no revelation of the doctrine of future rewards and punishments in the Old Testament; that although that doctrine had been taught by heathen legislators, yet there is no recognition of it by God, in the religion he gave to Moses. Moses had been prepared by his Egyptian education to admit that doctrine into his code; but acting under the direction of the Almighty, he omitted it altogether. And let it be remembered, that it was not omitted as a truth that was sufficiently known before, and therefore needed no further confirmation; for in the place of it was set up the fact that every deed would receive a just recompense in the present life, and that the ways of God with men on the earth were equal. The "Divine Legation," had more effect to convince the world that the doctrine of future rewards and punishments was no part of the Old Testament revelation, than that any other proposition which it maintained was correct. Bishop Bull had intimated the same great fact concerning the Old Testament in his Harmony of the Apostles; but Bishop Warburton took up the subject more definitely than it had ever been done by any other author, argued it at great length, examined all the passages that were thought to favor a future state of rewards and punishments, and seems to have set the matter completely at rest that that doctrine is not revealed under the ancient religion which God gave to man. Speaking of the Old Testament from Genesis to the end of Ezekiel

he says:—"it contains a very circumstantial history of this people [the Jews] throughout the aforesaid period. It contains not only the history of public occurrences, but the lives of private persons of both sexes, and of all ages, conditions, characters, and complexions; in the adventures of virgins, matrons, kings, soldiers, scholars, merchants, and husbandmen. All these, in their turns, make their appearance before us. They are given, too, in every circumstance of life; captive, victorious; in sickness, and in health; in full security, and amidst impending dangers; plunged in civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of religion. Together with their story, we have their compositions likewise. Here, they offer up to the Deity their hymns of praise; and there petition for their wants; here, they urge their moral precepts to their contemporaries: and there, they treasure up their prophecies and predictions for posterity; and to both, denounce the promises and threatenings of heaven. Yet in none of these different circumstances of life, in none of these various casts of composition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect of future rewards and punishments; or indeed, expressing the least hope, or fear, or even common curiosity, concerning them. But every thing they do or say, respects the present life only; the good and ill of which are the sole objects of all their pursuits and aversions. Hear, then, the sum of all: The sacred writings are extremely various, both in their subject, style, and composition. They contain an account of the Creation, and origin of the human race; the history of a private family, of a chosen people, and of exemplary men and women. They consist of hymns and petitions to the Deity, precepts of civil life, and religious prophecies and predictions. Hence I infer, that as, amidst all this variety of writing, the doctrine of a future state of man never once appears to have had any share in this people's thoughts, it never did indeed make part of their religious

opinions. And when, to all this, we find their occasional reasoning only conclusive on the supposition that a future state was not amongst the religious doctrines of the people, the above considerations, if they need any, would receive the strongest support and confirmation."[1]

BISHOP WARBURTON DID NOT BELIEVE IN ENDLESS MISERY.

XXXI. As to the doctrine of *endless* misery, Bishop Warburton seems to have had little or no faith in it. "If reason," says he, "on the one hand seems to revolt at the thought of *everlasting punishment;* (for, as God is the rewarder of the good, we must conclude the apostle would have us infer that he is the *punisher* of the bad, since this exercise of his power over good and bad, stands on the same attributes of goodness and justice;) If reason, I say, doth on the one hand seem to revolt at *everlasting punishment,* we must confess that FANCY, on the other, (even when full plumed by *Vanity,*) hath scarce force enough to rise to the idea of *infinite rewards.* How the heart of man came to conceive this to be an adequate retribution for his right conduct during the short trial of his virtue here, would be hard to tell, did we not know what monsters PRIDE begat of old upon *Pagan philosophy;* and how much greater still these latter ages have disclosed by the long incubation of *School Divinity* upon *Folly.*"[2]

He disputed the doctrine that men are to have endless happiness as the reward of their good deeds. He met the advocates of such a theory by saying, "The merit of ser-

[1] Divine Legation, Book v. Sec. 5. Since the publication of Bishop Warburton's work, others have taken the same ground. See Dr. Geo. Campbell's Prelim. Diss. vi. part 2. Jahn's Biblical Archæology, Section 314, omitting what was supplied by the translator at Andover, Mass. Rev. H. H. Milman, in his History of the Jews, Harper's edition, 1839, vol. 1, pp. 116, 117. Dr. Paley says, of the Old Testament, "This dispensation dealt in temporal rewards and punishments;" and he adds, that the blessings and curses promised by Moses, "consisted altogether of worldly benefits and worldly punishments."

[2] Vol. vi. p. 251.

vice, (say these men) increases in proportion to the excellence of that Being to whom our service is directed and becomes acceptable. An Infinite Being, therefore, can dispense no rewards but what are infinite. And thus the virtuous man becomes entitled to immortality."

"The misfortune is that this reasoning holds equally on the side of the UNMERCIFUL DOCTORS as they are called, who doom the wicked to EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT. Indeed, were this the only discredit under which it labors, the *merciless Doctors* would hold themselves little concerned. But the truth is, the argument from infinity proves just nothing: to make it of any force, both parties should be infinite. This inferior emanation of God's *Image,* MAN, should be supremely good or supremely bad, a kind of Deity or Devil. But these reasoners in their attention to the Divinity, overlook the Humanity, which makes the decrease keep pace with the accumulation, till the rule of Logic that the *conclusion follows the weaker part,* comes in to end the disputes."[1]

In examining the texts which were adduced by certain persons to prove that a future state of rewards and punishments was revealed under Moses, he says:

"But the texts of texts, the precious ones indeed, (alleged by those who held, against Warburton, that a future life was revealed under Moses,) are those where a hell is mentioned; as here, — 'thou shalt not leave my soul in hell.' Ps. xvi. 10. And of this orthodox consolation there is no scarcity in the Old Testament. Mr Whiston assures us, 'it is almost five times as often mentioned as in the New.' It may be so. However, instead of examining into the justness of this nice calculation, I shall choose rather to consider what is to be understood by the word, than how often it is used. Now I suppose neither I nor my answers can have any reasonable objection to St. John's authority in this matter; who speaking in the book of Revelation of the useless old furniture of the Law, says, 'and death and hell were cast into the lake of fire; this is the second death.' Rev. xx. 14. From hence it appears that the hell of the Old Testament was a very different thing from the hell of the New, called the lake of fire; since the one is made the punishment, or at least the extinction of the

[1] Vol. vi. p. 253.

other. And to remove all doubt, the apostle, we see, calls this casting into the lake, a second death. Must not then the lake itself be a second hell? And if so, could the first, or the Old Testament hell be any other than the grave? The next words tell us that 'whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire,' ver. 15. So that the sense of the whole seems to be this, that at the consummation of things, (the subject here treated of,) ALL PHYSICAL AND MORAL EVIL SHALL BE ABOLISHED." [1]

One more quotation and we close. The good Bishop published a Commentary on Pope's Essay on Man, in which he found many sentiments congenial to his own opinions.

"Entering upon his argument, he (Pope) lays down this self-evident proposition as the foundation of his thesis, which he reasonably supposes will be allowed him:— That of all possible systems, infinite wisdom hath formed the best." [2]

"Though the *system of the best* supposes that the evils themselves will be fully compensated by the good they produce to the whole, yet this is so far from supposing that particulars shall suffer for a general good, that it is essential to this system, to conclude that at the completion of things, when the whole is arrived to the state of utmost perfection, *particular* and *universal* good shall *coincide*."

To return then to the Poet's argument, he, as we said, bids man comfort himself with expectation of future happiness, and shows him that this hope is an earnest of it: "But first of all he puts in one very necessary caution,

"Hope *humbly* then, with *trembling* pinions soar."

And provoked at those miscreants, whom he afterwards (Ep. iii. 1. 262,) describes as building 'hell on spite and heaven on pride,' he upbraids them (1. 94 to 109,) with the example of the poor Indian, to whom also nature hath given this common hope of mankind. But though his untutored mind had betrayed him into many childish fancies, concerning the nature of that future state, yet he is so far from excluding any part of his own species, (a vice which could proceed only from vain science, which puffeth up,) that he humanely admits even his faithful dog to bear him company." [3]

[1] Vol. v. p. 407. [2] Vol. xi. p. 26. [3] Vol. xi. pp. 29, 30.

WORK OF AN ENGLISH COUNTESS.

XXXII. We must introduce in this chapter (perhaps out of place) an account of an English Countess, spoken of by Petersen, a German writer. Petersen took a very deep interest in the doctrine of the restitution of all things; and we shall find a fuller account of him in the fifth book of this history:

Her work is entitled, "*Opuscula Philosophica, quibus continentur principia philosophiæ antiquissimæ et recentissimæ.*" Anno, 1690. "This work" says Petersen, "was written by an English Countess, who is much praised by her translator as a woman *ultra sexam erudita*, learned beyond her sex; who was familiar with Greek and Latin, and acquainted with the whole range of philosophy."[1]

"Christ," says our authoress, "in the nature of man, who is called a microcosm, took upon himself the nature of all creatures; which nature, being assumed in flesh and blood, he sanctified, that by it he might sanctify all things, inasmuch as that was, as it were, a part of the leaven for leavening the whole mass. Then he descended into time, and for a certain period, by his own will, subjected himself to the laws of time, for the purpose of undergoing great miseries and even death itself. But death could not long detain him; for on the third day he rose again; and all his sufferings ended here with his death and burial, that he might heal and restore the creatures' corruption and death, which came upon them from the fall, that by this means he might at length put an end to the temporal, and raise creatures above the temporal to himself, where He dwells, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, beyond the reach of injury, corruption or death. In like manner, in his spiritual and internal manifestation, by which he decreed to save, care for, and restore their souls, he also subjected himself in a certain degree to sufferings and death, inasmuch as he, for a limited space, submitted to the laws of the temporal, that he might raise the souls of men above the temporal and the corruptible to himself, in whom they receive blessings, and grow by degrees in goodness and virtue and happiness *ad infinitum.*" p. 39.

[1] See Petersens Mysterion Apokatastasis, &c. Vol. i. p. 85.

"Since there is no existence that is in all respects contrary to God, (i. e. nothing made which is infinitely and immutably evil, as God is infinitely and immutably good; nothing infinitely and immutably dark, as God is infinitely and immutably light; and nothing infinitely and immutably body, having nothing of spirit, as God is infinitely and immutably spirit, having nothing of body,) hence it is manifest that no creature becomes more and more body *ad infinitum;* although it may become more and more spirit *ad infinitum;* neither can anything become more and more darkness forever, although it may become more and more light *ad infinitum;* so likewise *can nothing become evil more and more forever, although it may become better and better ad infinitum.* Thus in the nature of things, certain limits are fixed to evil, but none to good; and in the same manner every degree of evil or sin has its appropriate punishment, pain or chastisement annexed to it, in the nature of things, by which evil is again changed into good; which punishment or chastisement, although not immediately recognized by the creature when he sins, is nevertheless preserved in the very sins which he commits, and in due time shall make itself manifest; and then every sin shall have its own punishment, and sorrow and chastisement shall be received by the creature, and through it the creature shall be again converted into his pristine state of goodness, in which he was created, and from which he shall no more fall, because by his severe chastisement he has acquired greater perfection and strength, and from that indifference of will, which he formerly possessed, to good or evil, he has arisen to such a height that he only wills good, nor is any longer able to wish what is evil. And hence it may be inferred that all the creatures of God which have fallen and degenerated from their primitive goodness, must after certain periods be converted and restored to a state, not only as good as that in which they are created, but to one even better.

The common notion of the justice of God, that every sin, be it ever so little, is punished by infernal fire, and that without end, begets in men a horrible idea of God, as if he were rather a cruel tyrant than a kind Father to all his creatures. But if the amiable representation of God should become better known, as it exists in truth, and as it is manifested in all his dispensations to his creatures; and if our minds should, in their inward sense and relish, recognize him as love and kindness itself, such as he inwardly reveals himself to the hearts of men through the light and spirit of Jesus Christ,

our Lord; then and not till then, will men love God above all things, and acknowledge him to be the most just, as well as the most compassionate and adorable of all beings, who is incapable of punishing all sinners with equal punishment. And this punishment must be equal, if an infinite duration of punishment in a lake burning with brimstone, awaits sin, however one may be punished more mildly and another more severely." p. 63.

But as all the punishments inflicted by God upon his creatures have some proportion to their sins, so all these, even the worst not excepted, tend to their good and restoration, thus resemble medicines designed to cure the diseases of those creatures, and restore them to a better condition than they previously possessed." p. 66.

RETROSPECTION.

XXXIII. We have thus closed the fourth book of our history. It is important to observe, that a perfect freedom had been granted in the Established Church, for those who subscribed the articles, to take what ground they pleased on the question of the final happiness of all men.[1] Ever since the article *Non omnes tandem servandi,* the 42d of the articles adopted under Edward VI. was omitted [which took place under the reign of Elizabeth, when the articles were reduced to XXXIX,] there has been

[1] An English writer states, "It is a consolatory fact that the doctrine of eternal torment has been losing ground since the Reformation. The Reformers inherited it from the Church of Rome, and might assert it with the more vehemence, and apply it the more largely in order to show their opposition to purgatory, a sort of remedial pain; but Dr. Estlin suggests (p. 50 note London Ed. 1813) that the most convincing evidence we have of even Calvin's belief of it, is his burning Servetus. The tremendous doctrine is certainly not contained in the articles of the Church of England; it was asserted in the XLII. articles, settled in the reign of Edward VI., but was happily rejected when the number of articles was reduced to XXXIX. In the Athanasian Creed it may indeed be implied, but it would be unjust to determine the faith of the National Church from a formulary of which all its enlightened and liberal members have long been ashamed. The most zealous advocates of the doctrine are to be found among the Methodists; but the zeal of most of them has of late cooled upon this point, and not a few of them embrace the opinion of final happiness to all. On what other supposition, can they maintain the ultimate triumphs of divine grace, the efficacy of the cross of Christ and the fulfilment of the prophecy that in the Messiah shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Month. Repository, vol. x. p. 54.

great liberty in the Established Church, as to faith in Universalism. We see the effect in the enlarged and open-hearted love in which Dr. More, and Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, and others, wrote upon the subject. In fact certain persons have taken ground that the fair construction of some of the articles favors the belief in the final holiness of all. The thirty-first article, for instance, reads in this wise,—

"Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross.

"The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses in which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

The consecration prayer in the communion service expresses the same sentiment —

"All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thine only son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross, for our redemption, who made there by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, satisfaction, and oblation for the sins of the whole world."

A certain writer has said,—

"It appears to me that it would be difficult for the most strenuous advocate of the doctrine of universal salvation, to invent phraseology more direct for his purpose than what is here supplied. *A full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction* for *all* the sins of the *whole* world, both *original* and *actual*. If the offering of Christ by the Priest in the masses for the quick and the dead, for the remission of pain and guilt, is accounted a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit by the Episcopal Church, how much more blasphemous a fable and dangerous a deceit is that doctrine that declares that notwithstanding all that Christ has done and suffered, the greater portion of the human family shall be the subjects of *endless* pain and endless guilt ?

How far the belief in the final redemption of all men had obtained in the Church at the time the Thirty-Nine Articles were ratified by the bishops and clergy, it may be impossible to say, but one *fact* is beyond all dispute, that there were originally forty-two articles, and the last three, in their revision in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were stricken out, leaving it to the clergy and laity to enjoy their own opinions on the contested

points therein contained. The forty-second, which condemned the doctrine of final salvation read as follows,—

"Art. 42. All men not to be saved at last.

"They also deserve to be condemned who endeavor to restore that pernicious opinion, that all men (though never so ungodly,) shall at last be saved; when for a certain time appointed by the divine justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed."

There are several things worthy of notice in this article, from which we cannot but believe that the doctrine of the final restoration had taken a deep root and prevailed extensively. The Article was written with great moderation. It says simply "they deserve to be condemned." It calls the doctrine not a *damnable* heresy, but merely "a pernicious opinion." It speaks of "restoring" this opinion, as though it had been rife in the Church. But though the article was thus moderate and forbearing, such was the general feeling in favor of the great salvation, that it was deemed best to expunge it, and allow Universalists to come into communion with the Church. An example worthy of imitation, says Mr. Le Fevre.

The following is the form of the

RATIFICATION:

"This book of articles before rehearsed, is again approved and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realm, by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. Which articles were deliberately read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Upper House, and by the subscription of the whole clergy in the Nether House, in their Convention in the year of our Lord God, 1571."

While these *facts* exist it would ill become the members of the Episcopal Church to entertain intolerant feelings towards those professing the faith of Universal salvation. Such conduct on their parts would place them back three hundred years, and the path of the Church instead of being illuminated by that sun "which shineth more and more unto the perfect day," would be getting into deeper and deeper shades and at last be lost in darkness.

The believer in Universalism has no reason to regret the lives of those men who came forward, in the time embraced in this chapter, to speak against the dogma of endless torture, thus to drive away the dark clouds of distrust in the divine goodness, and to kindle up a bright hope of the ultimate salvation of all men. Behold Dr. Henry More, one of the mildest, wisest and meekest of men; see Arch-

bishop Tillotson, the learned, the just, the devout, the excellent, who stands pre-eminent above all who ever graced the See of Canterbury; see Dr. Thomas Burnet, the learned, the indefatigable, the truly independent man, who dared even to resist the will of his King, in a time of great public excitement and danger, when commanded to do what he thought was wrong, — see with what energy, directness and love he opposed the doctrine of endless sufferings; see Whiston, familiarly called honest William Whiston, denying directly and plainly the fact of the eternity of hell torments. Some there were, undoubtedly, like Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Samuel Clarke, who disbelieved the doctrine in question, though they said but little upon the subject. See how the most pious minds have been troubled with that doctrine, as in the case of Dr. Watts, Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Edward Young. The fierce times of fire and faggot had passed away, and the appeal was made in the time of which we speak to the Scriptures, to reason, to philosophy, to history. All believed in the future life, but few saw the sublime doctrine of the restoration into the immortal state as taught by Paul, and the greater teacher, Jesus. It is pleasant as we pass along through this chapter to see the times mitigating. How great a fact, and how much influence has it had upon the religious world, viz. that the condemnation of Universalism at one time embraced in the articles, was subsequently stricken from them. The influence of that fact has continued to this day.

We must here leave the History of Universalism in England, and proceed to trace the progress of that doctrine on the Continent of Europe.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN GERMANY CONTINUED.

From A. D. 1650 to 1850.

Recapitulation; History in Germany resumed; Postell; Camphuysen; Samuel Huber; Ernest Sonner; Angelus Marianus; Peter Serarius; Petersen; Entretiens sur la Restitution; The Eighteenth Century; History by Dietelmair; The Everlasting Gospel by Klein-Nicolai, or Siegvolk; Mosheim opposes Universalism; Gerhard defends that doctrine; Siegvolk still in the field; Schlitte's reply to Mosheim; The Controversy for the years 1740 to 1750; Latter part of the Eighteenth Century, and the Writers for and against Universalism during that time; Kant; Jung Stilling; Doederlein; &c., &c., &c.

RECAPITULATION OF THE CONTENTS OF BOOK I.

1. In our first Book, in this volume, we treated of the History of Universalism in Germany. It is at the epoch of the Reformation that the History of Universalism is divided into Ancient and Modern. That doctrine made its appearance very soon after the excitement of the Reformation begun. The Catholic Church was very corrupt. It was fast sinking by the weight of its own wickedness; and if the Reformation had not begun, under the power of God's spirit and truth, and the labors of his true servants, it seems almost as if true religion would utterly have been

lost from the face of the earth. The principles on which the Reformation was founded, gave rise to Universalism. The Bible was placed in the hands of the people, translated into their common language, and they were urged to read it and exercise their own reason in understanding it. As a barrier against the spread of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, the dogma of endless misery was sustained by most of the leading Reformers ; but Luther had not undoubting faith in that dogma. Universalism sprung up among the minor sects, such as the different classes of Anabaptists. They were not all to be judged by the same rules. Some were peaceable, some were violent ; some were good citizens, some were seditious ; but such was the state of the times, that they all were involved in a common ruin. They were slaughtered indiscriminately ; and the survivors fled, spreading their opinions wherever they went.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN GERMANY RESUMED.

II. We come now to resume the history in Germany. In the times of the Reformation, David George, John Denkius, Lewis Hetzer and Stanislaus Pannonius stood forward as defenders of the doctrine of the final happiness of all men. See Book I, pp. 53–61. After these came John Scalidecker, Franciscus Georgious, Franciscus Mercurius, William Postell and others.

Hering speaks of Postell as one of the most learned men, as well as one of the greatest fanatics and dreamers, contradictory as this may seem. He was born in Normandy in 1510, lost his parents in his eighth year, and in his thirteenth became a village school-master, for the purpose of earning money to go to Paris to acquire an education. But misfortunes attended him. He was first robbed, then fell sick and lay two years in an hospital. After this he went into the field to glean, for the purpose of buying

clothes, and to gratify his unconquerable desire to study at Paris. Then he entered service in the College of Saint Barbara, and acquired without a teacher the Hebrew and Greek languages. The post of teacher was offered him in Portugal, but he rejected it, saying that he had too much himself to learn. With the French Ambassador he made two journeys to Constantinople, perfected himself in the Greek, learned the Arabic, and brought many Arabic manuscripts back with him, from which Ferdinand I. caused the oldest Syriac translation of the New Testament to be published at Vienna in 1555. He was subsequently appointed Royal Professor of Oriental languages in France, and received a pension from the Queen of Navarre."

Hering says further, "He was an independent thinker, and most of his writings contain much that is good and much that is unexpected. His views were honest and his morals blameless. Nor was everything laid to his charge well founded. He was neither a denier of God, nor an enemy of the Christian Religion, but with all his learning he was a visionary." His failings in this respect were rather numerous. For instance, he attempted to prove the Christian Religion on reasonable grounds; he was also so unfortunate as to attempt clearer views of the trinity. In his later years he dreamed of having all religions united, and became more tolerant towards Protestants. But his great sin was the belief that all men must ultimately be restored.

In a letter written in 1553, he complains of some who "satisfy themselves by introducing the greatest tyrant into the world, and persuade themselves that there is never to be a restoration of all things here, so that Satan seems to have destroyed more than Christ is able to restore. O, the greatest impiety!" he exclaims, "Satan has ruined men by no apparent means to this very day; and Christ by his secret and inward word, by his holy spirit, and his

influence and instrumentality, cannot effect as much in saving as Satan does in destroying!"[1]

THEODORE RAPHAEL CAMPHUYSEN.

III. Dr. Sawyer states that Camphuysen, was born at Worcum in Holland, in the year 1586. He was educated for the Christian ministry and devoted himself to the functions of the office for a time, but subsequently resigned his post. He became a Socinian, and was one of the most distinguished of the Society at Rheinsburg. He was a moralist and a poet. *Coccieus Exam. Apol.* p. 305, says: "I remember, and others remember that there was a certain Diedrick Camphuysen, who in a printed letter attached to a volume of his poems, professed that he had been inclined to abandon all religion, till he fell in with those books which teach that perpetual fires and eternal torments have no existence."

Le Clerc makes a similar statement in the defence of Archbishop Tillotson's views of the eternity of hell torments. He says:

"Mr. Camphuysen, a person famous in Holland upon account of several pieces of poetry, has publicly declared that he had been tempted to reject the Christian Religion altogether, whilst he believed that it taught the eternity of torments; and that he never overcame those temptations, till he found the truths of the gospel might be taken in another sense. It was for promoting the salvation of such doubting men, that Archbishop Tillotson spoke as he did." See Supplement to Swinden's "Nature and Place of Hell."

Camphuysen is represented by F. A. Lampe, in his "Treatise on the Eternity of Punishments," to have be-

[1] This account of Postell is drawn from Sawyer's Contributions to the History of Universalism, No. iii. — *Christian Ambassador, June 25th,* 1853.

lieved with John Locke and some of the Socinians, that the wicked would be *annihilated.* It is possible that he is correct, but I find (says Dr. Sawyer) no other allusion to the fact, and Lampe himself furnishes no proof of it

It is a remark of Bayle that "the eternity of hell torments is feared by only a few. There are only a few who feel this burden so oppressively."

Camphuysen produced a variety of works, among which were Theological works; on the State of the Dead; Judgment of the writings of Faustus Socinus and a paraphrase of the Psalms.[1]

SAMUEL HUBER, OF WITTEMBURG.

IV. In regard to this professor of divinity, we have been unable to extricate the question from doubt, whether he was really a believer of the final happiness of all men. He evidently differed greatly from his fellows, and was obliged on that account to leave his place and go into retirement. It could hardly have been a difference of mere words.

"Samuel Huber," says Lempriere, "was a native of Berne, and Divinity Professor at Wittemburg, in 1592. He opposed Predestination and wrote an able explanation of the ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters of Romans.

Frederic Spanheim, who was Professor of Divinity at Geneva, and afterwards at Leyden, about the middle of the 17th century, in his "Disputationum Theologicarum Syntagma," under the head *De Praedestione*, § xlvi, informs us that Huber was a Universalist. He says, "We think the opinion of Samuel Huber on this subject absurd, who about the close of the last century began to publish and defend a universal election of all men in Christ to salvation whether they believe, or do not believe; which dogma has with very good reason been exploded by Orthodox divines

[1] See Sawyer's "Contributions to the Modern History of Universalism, No. xiii."

as *unscriptural*, nay rather, as *anti-scriptural*, *atheistical* and *unreasonable*. For election without distinction or separation of a part from the rest cannot be made; and the Scriptures not only plainly deny that all are elected, Matt. xx. 15; 1 Cor. i. 26; but also institute an antithesis between the elect and non-elect, Matt. xxiv. 25; John x. 26, and Rom. ix. 22, 23."

Spanheim undoubtedly believed Huber to be in an error, but he regarded him as holding to the salvation of all men, and this is the point in which we are concerned. But after all there is room for doubt. Mosheim speaks in the following terms of Huber:

> At the end of the century, Samuel Huber, a Swiss of Berne, indiscreetly awakened a new controversy at Wittemburg, where he taught Theology. Fired with hatred of the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute decrees, he maintained, that the whole human race were from eternity elected of God to salvation; and he accused his colleagues, together with all the divines of the Lutheran church, of being Calvinists, because they taught that those only are elected, whom God foresaw would die in faith. Learned men are at this day agreed that Huber swerved from the Lutheran doctrines, in words rather than meaning; for what the Lutherans maintain respecting the love of God as embracing the whole human race, and excluding no one absolutely from eternal salvation, this he would explain in a new manner and in new phraseology. But this age having learned from numerous examples, that new phraseology and new modes of explaining doctrines produced as lasting and as pernicious disturbance as new errors, urged Huber to adopt the old and universal method of teaching, in preference to his own. And when he declared that he could not do so, and his patrons here and there threatened to produce disturbance, he was compelled to relinquish his office, and go into exile. Murdock's Mosheim, Cen. xvi. sec. iii. Part ii. chap. i.[1]

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. ERNEST SONNER AND OTHERS.

V. We come now to the seventeenth century. The works of the early Universalists have not been preserved.

[1] There seems to have been another writer by the name of Mary Huber, who favored Universalism. We shall give some account of her in a subsequent part of this work.

The art of printing had been discovered in the fifteenth century, but few however could avail themselves of it. Little printing was done, especially for the poor. Not many of the works of those who believed in the final holiness of all men were printed; and of those that were, no efforts would be made by the enemies of that faith to circulate them. If they would burn men for writing and printing the books, they surely would burn the books. We cannot expect, therefore, to find many works on Universalism which have come down to us from the sixteenth century. There are, however, some of that kind.

Ernest Sonner,[1] a Professor of Philosophy, at Altorf, published a work in 1603, entitled, "A Theological and Philosophical demonstration that the endless punishment of the wicked would argue not the justice, but the injustice of God." The work itself is lost, at least it has not been met with, I believe, since the days of Mosheim. Leibnitz attempted to refute it.

In the year 1632, appeared a work under the title *Offene Hertzens Pforte, i. e.* "Open Gate of the Heart," written by a man who called himself Angelus Marianus. This is undoubtedly a fictitious name (says Dr. Sawyer) but the book was dedicated to one of the most eminent personages of that age, *Axel Von Oxenstiern*, a Swedish nobleman, and Chancellor of the kingdom.

In this work the author speaks of the everlasting Gospel,

[1] More than one hundred years after Sonner wrote, the famous Dr. Mosheim prepared an article to prove the eternity of hell torments. In the day of Dr. Mosheim, the doctrine he sought to defend was attacked by many persons, and he felt it needful to attempt to sustain it. He spake of Sonner as follows: "Ernesti Soneri Demonstratio Theologica et Philosophica, quod aeterna impiorum supplicia, non arguant Dei justitiam, sed injustitiam, (i. e, A theological and philosophical demonstration that the eternal punishments of the wicked do not argue the justice but the injustice of God.) The world-renowned Leibnitz proposed a republication of this little work, which is now very scarce. I have a copy of it before me, with the preface which he proposed to publish to it. Another place will give me occasion to mention this again, when I shall commend the goodness of one whom (says Dr. Sawyer) I have to thank for this and other matters connected with this subject.

a name generally understood as implying Universalism, in the following manner: "Through the everlasting Gospel will all heathen, Jews, Turks, and even all who are not Christians, be converted to Christ." Farther on he says: "Then will the Lord appear in his glory, to renew and beget again the whole creation, and to manifest the irresistible power of Christ and the great God, our Saviour which has hitherto been hidden from all the philosophers and the learned and prudent of this world, till the day of the revelation in which the whole world and the creation shall receive its conception from above through the revelation of Jesus Christ, and all things shall be made new and all old things pass away like a garment and with salvation, and righteousness all shall be made ready for the marriage of the Lamb, in the Paradise of God."

Peter Serarius (Dr. Sawyer has said) was a preacher at Amsterdam, about the middle of the seventeenth century, but was deposed because he attempted to introduce his Chiliastic or Millenarian opinions among his people." This is the brief account given of him by Von Einem. Petersen calls him "that pious and learned man of God." In 1668, he published at Amsterdam a book entitled, "The Fourth Book of Psalms," in which that "grand mystery of the redemption (totius Adami) of the whole human race, hitherto hidden from the world, and restitution of all things, is graphically described and proposed to all men promiscuously." These words which we quote from Petersen, are doubtless a part of the title page of the book. Serarius was the author of another work, *Arcano Redemptionis*, Secret of Redemption, in which, speaking of these words, "This shall be written for the generation to come; and the people which shall be created shall praise the Lord; for he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth; to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are

appointed to death; " (Ps. cii, 18–20,) he says: "The doctrine of this hearing and redemption even from hell, is a thing indeed of which the saints should have some experience, but of which little or nothing has heretofore been written, or if anything concerning it has appeared, it has been done so covertly and in so secret a manner, that that old saying is commonly received among Christians, *that there is no redemption from hell.* But at the time of which the Psalmist here speaks, a book shall be written for a generation to come, yea for a people not yet created, but shall then at last have taken its place, in which book this mystery shall be manifested to the whole world, when Jehovah shall look down from the height of his sanctity into the depths of the abyss, and from heaven upon the earth, that he may hear the groaning of the prisoner and loose those destined to death, or the original has it, *the sons of death, i. e.*, that he may redeem even those who by the just judgment of God are doomed not to life but to death, and have received the sentence of death and not of life.[1]

JOHN WILLIAM PETERSEN.

VI. For the want of information, we are obliged to pass over the names of many who we suppose were Universalists and we come to that well known, learned, pious preacher and author, John William Petersen, a man who was one of the most fervent and useful Universalists of his day, who, although somewhat visionary, did more to spread the doctrine of the restitution of all things, than any man who had lived since the days of Origen. And first, as to his biography. He was born at Osnabruck in 1649. Nature formed him for a poet, and he was made professor of poetry at Rostock in 1677. Afterwards he was superintendent at Lubec, then court preacher at Lutin, and in 1688, superin-

[1] See Christian Ambassador of May 28, 1853

tendent at Lunenburg. Among other doctrines, some of which perhaps were not well founded, he adopted with great zeal that of the restoration of all things. He regarded it as a most important doctrine; he could not make out that the government of God is perfect without it. He was cited before the consistory at Zelle in 1692; and as he could not conscientiously renounce this doctrine, he was deprived of his office and forced into private life. He purchased an estate, not far from Magdeburg, in the heart of Germany, and devoted himself to religion and literary pursuits. It was here probably he prepared his three folio volumes on Universalism, a mingled work of dogmatical theology and history.[1] He was a great student and a very learned man. His writings were voluminous. He died in 1727, aged 78. It is said he received Universalism merely as a special revelation from God to himself; but it is certain if he at first so received it, he afterwards found the doctrine clearly revealed in the divine word, as a part of God's teachings through Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles.[2]

Petersen also mentions an English Countess. Her work seems to have been originally written in Latin or translated into that tongue. She was a notable scholar, familiar with

[1] The title is in Greek Αποκαταστασις Παντων. In this work, it is said, he has strenuously defended the point, and collected the writings of several others upon the same subject, in lesser tracts. I have seen one of Petersen's works, entitled, *Der Bekrafftigte Oregenes, in der Lehre von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge, gegen den so genannten Entkraffeten Origenem*, &c., &c. That is, A Defence or Vindication of Origen on the doctrine of the Restitution of all Things, in reply to the so called Origen Overthrown, &c. In this work, Petersen mentions a Mr. Conrad Bauman, a court preacher, and an open defender of Universal Restitution, who had been abused on account of his faith, in a coarse and vulgar manner. The substance of the work is as follows: 1st, The absolute decrees of God are contrasted with the decrees of rigid Calvinism; 2d, Evidence, or proof, of the Universal Compassion of God in Christ Jesus, in opposition to the absolutely eternal punishment, of the Hessian Calvinistic Theology: 3d, An examination of an important question, viz. "whether God intended there shall ultimately be devils in his creation;" to which a few smaller tracts are added.

[2] See Mosheim, Cen. xvii. sec. ii. part ii. chap. i.

Greek and Latin, and skilled in the whole range of philosophy. Her translator says, she was *ultra sexum erudita*, "learned beyond her sex." She wrote, A. D. 1690. She may have been one of the Philadelphian Society. We have, in Petersen, a whole page of her writings, in which she speaks out Universalism plainly. Her work seems to have borne the title of "Philosophical Opuscula, containing the principles of the most ancient as well as the most modern Philosophy."

ENTRETIENS SUR LA RESTITUTION.

VII. The whole title of the work referred to in this heading is: "Entretiens sur la Restitution generale de la Creation." Cologne, 1697. Printed by Pierre Marteau.

Petersen, Vol. i. p. 91, says, it was written by "an eminent personage," but seems ignorant of his name. He further states that in the beginning the author institutes a comparison between the first and the second Adam, and between the offence introduced by the first and the grace introduced by the second, and maintains that the latter must not be less general or less effective than the former.

"I formerly believed," says the author, "that a large part of the human race would be damned to punishment without end. It is true I frequently thought it very extraordinary, that the demerit of the first Adam should be able to diffuse a poison through his whole posterity, and that the great and incomprehensible merit of the second Adam, our mediator with God, far greater certainly than the first, and the sacrifice for the human race, should not be as extensive, as universal as the evil introduced by the first Adam; and that this great remedy and counterpoise should have no effect only on such as during the short course of the present life should apply it to themselves; and yet this life is only a moment in respect to eternity, and should not leave the soul to be deprived eternally of the merit of Christ.

Petersen informs us further, that our author has some criticisms upon the Hebrew and Greek phrases for duration, and shows that they must be taken very differently when applied to God, than when applied to man, and consequently that when they are used in reference to punishments, which are inflicted for sin, they can no more be endless than sin itself is, and, therefore, they must come to an end, as evil has no eternal root as good has, which draws its existence from God. Hence he says, p. 26:

"If you distinguish upon this ground the eternity of the source of good and evil in the creature, you will perceive a vast difference and distance between the two origins; and if you then distinguish the eternity of the Creator, you will find that the creature, who was made by God of good primordial substance, and was prevented by an accidental evil, insinuated into it by the devil, shall not remain in that state of mixture to all eternity, but that a separation shall be effected of these two qualities, to wit, the evil shall be terminated and annihilated by fire, and that all that is said of the ages or eternities, is to be understood of this temporality of punishments and of evil, to be destroyed during these said ages," &c.

In another passage, when treating of 1 Cor. xv. 22–25, he says, "Read 1 Cor. xv. 22–25, where it is said that as all men die in Adam, so shall all, every one in his own order, be made alive in Christ. This word made *alive*, has such an extent of signification in the original Greek, that it comprehends, not only the resuscitation of the dead, but also sanctification and renovation."

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VIII. This century was marked by a very spirited discussion of Universalism and of the opposite doctrine of the eternity of punishment. Petersen, who had agitated the public thought in the preceding century, continued his labors. In fact his three folio volumes appeared between 1701 and

1710.[1] J. J. Wolf wrote about this time, "Brief Remarks on the question, whether a Universal Restitution is really to be hoped for after this life?" Helmstadt, 1699. C. G. Koch wrote a "solid and Orthodox exposition of the *apokatastasis* (restitution) of Acts iii. 21," Kiel, 1699. Zach published a review of Dr. Grapius's book, called the Eternal Gospel, Rostock, 1699; and Dr. Thomas Ittigius sent out a work, "The Gospel announced to the Dead," Leipsic, 1699. Well might Dr. Mosheim say, "The points of theology which had been controverted in the seventeenth century, were destined to excite keener disputes in the eighteenth, such "as *the Eternity of Hell Torments;* the reign of Christ *upon earth during a thousand years;* and the *final restoration of all intelligent beings,* to order, perfection and happiness."[2] It would not be possible for us, however, were we possessed, in this country, of the materials,—to enter into a full description of the various controversies which were maintained. Dr. Mosheim must have referred to the first part of the eighteenth century, as he died in 1755. We will give sketches of some of the controversies, and some of the works which marked the time of which we write.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM BY DIETELMAIR.

IX. Dietelmair wrote upon the History of Universalism about the middle of the eighteenth century. He bears testimony to the wide-spread controversy which marked the beginning of the century. Seeking after the rest which Christ promised to those who believe on him, many authors could not be content without investigating this great question. The historian we have named says:

"How many and how deadly commotions, in the Church of Christ, that very celebrated dogma concerning the ἀποκαταστάσις of all things, or the end of infernal pains

[1] *Musterion apokatastasis panton*, i. e. the mystery of the restoration of all things (in German), Offenbach, 1701–10, 3 vols. folio. See Murdock's Elements of Christian Dogmatic History, New Haven, 1830, p. 203.

[2] Cen. xviii. section 20, New York edition of 1850, p. 493.

which they would have to be understood by this phrase, — can, I think, escape no one who is not wholly ignorant of affairs transacted in the religious world. For not only in ancient times, was it often disputed concerning this subject, but also in the recent age there were numberless contests waged by the enemies of the infinite justice of God against the received opinions of the Orthodox Church, concerning eternal punishments; contests which raged vehemently enough within the very bounds of the Orthodox Church, in the end of the last century and the beginning of the present." (Preface.)

He further says that John Laurence Mosheim lately gave encouragement, that he would write a history of this dogma, but that he died without executing it. Dietelmair therefore undertook it. This present work of his, he says, is only the ancient part; he intends to follow it with the modern history, to which he shall add, as an appendix, the tract of Ernestus Sonerus which Mosheim promised, together with the confutations by Leibnitz and others. This latter part, the modern, we suppose was never published, as we have never seen any other references to it.

In the work itself, Dietelmair tries to free Origen, the Gregories, and almost all the ancient fathers, from the charge of Universalism. How he succeeded may be judged of, by the remark of Muenscher, author of the celebrated Manual of Dogmatic History, in 4 vols.: "His grounds are nearly all wholly untenable."[1] Dietelmair gives notices of what was said for and against Universalism, down to the Reformation. He is a somewhat bitter opponent of the doctrine. There is considerable ecclesiastical learning manifest in his book, but perverted by strong prejudice, and his pleas are almost invariably hard-strained.

On page 227, he mentions a work in German, (probably

[1] *Muenscher, Handbuch der Christlich. Dogmengesch.* ii. 506.

then recently published,) entitled "Gedanken von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge," — Thoughts on the Restitution of all things,—the unknown author of which, says Dietelmair, "did notblush to assert, in the preface to his treatise, that the doctrine of the Restitution was publicly taught in the earliest times of the Church."

On pages 77, 78, speaking of those who claimed Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c., as holding the end of infernal torments, he says, "More than by the rest, this was done by that most noted one in these controversies, John William Petersen, a man otherwise not to be despised, second to few in piety and extent of erudition, but often indulging his own fancy immoderately; from whom, though a hundred times refuted, no one has yet tried to take away his *historical* weapons. Others, with no partizan aims, have lightly engaged in this subject, which they suppose to be of little moment; and being deceived by the obscurer passages of the ancients, which they are unwilling to subject to a careful examination, they too easily concede the errors charged against the fathers," &c.[1]

THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL.

X. We now come to a work which caused much excitement in its day, viz. the so called "Everlasting Gospel," which for years was understood to have had for its author one Paul Siegvolk. Long after the delusion ought to have been corrected, the work was continued to be ascribed to Siegvolk, both in America and in Europe. The name was kept up and applied to a series of works, about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

1 "Commenti Fanatici de Rerum Omnium Ἀποκαταστάσει Historia Antiquior. Auctore D. Joh. Augustino Dietelmair," etc. Published at Altorf, 1709, 8vo. pp. 279. Altorf is in Switzerland. Dietelmair is styled, in the title-page, "S. Theol. P. P. Ecclesiæ Archidiac. Academiæ H. T. quartum Rectore," which perhaps means Professor of Theology, and Rector of some Academical Institution, though I cannot read it out, on account of the abbreviations.

Dr. Sawyer says, "Few names are more familiar to our readers than that of Siegvolk. Not that he was distinguished for pre-eminent talents, but it was his fortune to enter upon the stage of action in a day of great religious controversy, and also to have one of his works translated and published in America, at a time, and under circumstances calculated to give it an enviable reputation and secure to it an extensive usefulness.

Yet of Siegvolk personally, we have hitherto known almost nothing, and even to the present day, our information is singularly meagre. Indeed it is only within these last few years that we became aware that Seigvolk was but an assumed name, nor were we ready to credit the fact when it was first announced to us."

In commenting on a paragraph which appeared in the first edition of this history, Dr. Sawyer further says, "We now know that Siegvolk was a clergyman in Germany, and have no reason to suppose that he was born and educated in Holland or that his most popular work, the Everlasting Gospel, was written in Low Dutch, or that he had corresponded with the persons mentioned in the above note. Still we would not positively deny these statements since they may possibly be true. The Everlasting Gospel[1] was first published, continued Doctor Sawyer, so far as I have been able to learn, in the year 1700. It appeared in the first volume of Petersen's great work, "The Mystery of the Restoration of all Things." In introducing it near the close of the volume, Petersen says, "the publication has been deferred a whole year or more, since I wished it to appear; but in this as in other things, I see the providence of God, for I have meanwhile received an excellent

[1] The whole title is as follows, "The Everlasting Gospel, commanded to be preached by Jesus Christ, judge of the living and dead, unto all creatures, Mark xvi. 15, concerning the eternal redemption found out by him, whereby Devil, Sin, Hell and Death, shall at last be abolished, and the whole creation restored to its primitive purity; being a testimony against the present anti-christian world."

tract on the subject, which is very precious and may properly be called a compendium of this whole work, and which I here communicate."

The Everlasting Gospel, thus introduced, acquired a deserved popularity in Germany. It was republished at Leipsic in 1705 and again in 1713. In 1730 a new edition appeared at Frankfort and Leipsic, and another still in 1745 in Altona.

The first edition in English appeared at Germantown, near Philadelphia in 1753, and was doubtless the first work in favor of Universalism, except the Bible, ever printed in America. This edition was printed by Christopher Sower, more properly Sauer, and purports to have been "translated into English by John S———," probably a son or brother of the printer. There is every reason to suppose that it was thus introduced to the readers of English, through the influence of Dr. George De Benneville, who after a series of sufferings and persecutions for his faith in Universalism, came to this country about 1740, and was at this time residing near Germantown. Whether he brought the original from Germany, where he had lived several years and probably became acquainted with it, we have no means of determining. It might have been brought over by some of the German Baptists, who sympathized with its author. Be this as it may, it is understood that Winchester, in his preface to the London edition, 1792, alludes to De Benneville, when he says, "I am well acquainted with the good man at whose instance and expense it was translated. He has lived to see the little spark rise into a flame, and the small seed into a large tree; and may he still live many years," &c. Dr. De Benneville died the year following the date of Mr. Winchester's preface, 1793, aged 90 years. (*Dr. Sawyer.*)

Besides the Everlasting Gospel, Siegvolk wrote and published several other works. In the second volume of Petersen's Restoration of all Things, 1702, appeared a

labored review of a work by J. Haenfler, entitled, "Plain Instruction." This is ascribed by Thiess to Siegvolk. It makes 91 folio pages. In 1711 we find him in the field again in controversy with several opposers of universal salvation, who had been called out by Petersen's great work. This volume (of 1711) is entitled, "Vain Strife against Truth and Innocence." Another work of his appeared in 1717, called, "Presentation of what the *restitution of all things*, Acts iii. 21, must mean."

About 1728, J. Laurence Mosheim, the celebrated ecclesiastical historian, gave the world his thoughts on the doctrine of the end of Hell Torments. To this Siegvolk replied in 1729, in a work entitled, "Modest Thoughts upon Mosheim's Thoughts," &c. During the same year he also published a volume entitled, "Various important Questions, concerning the Millenial Reign of Christ, and the entire restoration of all creatures to follow it, together with an appendix of clear proofs from the writings of Luther, that he believed, both in the restoration of all things and the milennial kingdom of Christ."

Having said so much of Siegvolk's works, I must turn, (says Dr. S.) for a moment to consider the author himself. But here I must confess my information very limited. Some years ago I learned from Thiess, what I could then scarcely credit, that Siegvolk was an assumed name. More recent information has confirmed the fact. The following paragraph I copy from Von Einem, who revised and enlarged Hering's Lexicon of Church History and Heresies:

"George Klein-Nicolai was, in the beginning of this (the eighteenth) century, an active advocate of the restoration of all things. On this account he was deposed as the preacher at Friessdorf and Rammelburg, in Mannsfeld. He was indeed called afterwards again to Zeulenrode in the county of Gratz, but created many disturbances. In his writings he called himself George Paul Siegvolk."

In an appendix to his "Vain Strife against Truth and

Innocence," our author alludes to his writing under a fictitious name in the following manner:

"Finally, let not the reader be offended because the author of this work has, for important reasons, not placed his proper name upon the title page. This is not done, because he shuns the light, or is afraid of the sectarian persecutors of the impartial truth, which is hedged in by no circle of false orthodoxy. For through the grace of God, he has been enabled already to give many satisfactory proofs to the contrary, till God will strengthen him still farther not to be ashamed in any manner or at any point, of the Gospel of Christ, but rather on its account to suffer all things patiently till death."[1]

Many writers came out against the doctrine of the restitution of all things, and among others, a Mr. J. Haenfler, mentioned in a preceding paragraph, preacher in the for-

[1]For many of these facts, I refer to the valuable historical preface written by Dr. Sawyer, and attached to the edition of the Everlasting Gospel published in Philadelphia.

GEORGE KLEIN-NICOLAI.

The following account of Klein-Nicolai is given by Mehlig in his "Historisches Kirchen- und Ketzer-Lexicon," i. e. *Historical Dictionary of the Church and of Heretics*, published in 1758.

"George Klein-Nicolai was a zealous advocate of Universal Restoration, at the beginning of the present century. He was pastor at Friessdorf and Rammelburg, in the district of Mannsfeld, where he was deposed from his office. He was afterwards reinstated at Zeulenroda in the seignory of Grætz, where he created much disturbance. In his writings he assumed the name of George Paul Siegvolk. A circumstantial account of the turbulent proceedings of this man is to be found particularly in Trinius's 'Lebensbeschreibungen der Gottesgelehrten auf dem Lande' (*Lives of Theologians in the country*)." His account is substantially copied by Von Einem, in his edition of Hering's "Kurzgefasstes Kirchen- und Ketzer-Lexicon," published in 1789.

The name assumed by Klein-Nicolai, and under which most of his works were published, has thrown some obscurity over his history, many writers knowing him only as Siegvolck. A friend has called my attention to the fact that Paul Siegvolck is merely a *translation* of Klein-Nicolai into a name having the same etymological meaning; *Paul*, according to its Latin derivation, signifying the same as *Klein*, in German, that is, "little;" and *Siegvolck*, derived from the German *siegen*, "to conquer," and *Volk*, "people," "folk," being precisely equivalent to *Nicolai*, from the Greek νικάω, "to conquer," and λαός, "people."

The following works are enumerated by Georgi in his "Allgemeines Europæischer-Buecher Lexicon," or *Universal Dictionary of European Books*, as published by Klein-Nicolai under his own name:—

1. "Der unabsetzliche Diener Christi: Beweis, das ein Knecht Gottes u. s. w., nicht abzusetzen sey," *i. e.* "The Undeposable Minister of Christ: Proof that a Servant of God, &c., cannot be deposed." Halle, 1706. 4to.

2. "Wahre Gestalt des gerechtmachenden Glaubens," *i. e.* "True Nature of Justifying Faith." Gotha, 1723. 4to.

3. "Der verzweiffelte Atheist, mit Spirae Leben," *i. e.* "The Atheist in

tress of Custrin, who published a book in 1702, entitled "Candid Dialogue." It was replied to by Siegvolk or Klein-Nicolai in an article entitled, "Fundamental Considerations upon Haenfler's Tract," &c. The latter fills more than ninety folio pages in Petersen's great work. Every year, we might almost say every month, some book on this great question, upon one side or the other, made its appearance. Ferdinand Helfreich Lightscheid, published "Christian Thoughts on the Book of the Everlasting Gospel," Leipsic, 1700, and Zullichan, 1733. Mr. Pistorius published "God's eternal judgment of wrath," Magdeburg, A. D. 1700. The third large folio volume of Petersen's *Apokatastasis Panton* came out in 1710, about the same time with the biography of Petersen. In 1705, a new edition of Klein-Nicolai's Everlasting Gospel had appeared at Leipsic, and at the same time Dr. John Christian Pfaff published a work entitled "*De restitutione omnium rerum*," Tubingen, 1705. In 1707, the ever-toiling Petersen issued, at Magdeburg, his "Complete Economy of the Love of God in Christ," and in the next year Sam. Christian Teuber published, at Magdeburg, his Arguments against Origen's doctrine of the Restitution of all things," and Dr. Ludwig Melchior Fischlin issued his "Mystery of the *Apokatastasis Panton*, exposed and overthrown," 1708. John Mercker (Dr. perhaps) issued a pamphlet on the Restitution of all Things. These are scarcely a tythe of the works that appeared pro and con in this controversy in the first half of this century. Petersen had been the moving spirit. His three masterly folios had stirred up the thoughts of many of the clergy and scholars of Germany. Let us pass on.

Despair; with the Life of Spira." (Translated from the English.) Leipzig, 1696. 12mo.

4. "Das ernstliche Verlangen Gottes nach der allergroesten Suender Bekehrung, aus dem Englischen von Klein-Nicolai." *i. e.* "The Earnest Desire of God for the Conversion of the Greatest of Sinners; from the English." Leipzig, 1721. 8vo.

DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS MISERY FURTHER DEFENDED.

XI. Not to attempt to mention every book bearing on this controversy, (which would be impossible,) we will pass to matters of greater moment. The publications in favor of the *Apokatastasis Panton*, led the learned to think that they must seek some way to strengthen the foundations of the common belief in endless punishment. Many really pious persons had come to have great doubts in regard to the truth of that doctrine, and the doubts had spread, especially with the common people. Among the truly learned men who came forward at this crisis, was Frederick Adolphus Lampe, professor of theology and rector of the University of Bremen, who died there in 1729. He produced a work entitled, "Theological Dissertations concerning the Endless Duration of Punishment." This was translated into English nearly seventy years after Lampe's death, by Dr. Joseph Robertson, of Edinburg.[1] Works on both sides of this controversy continued to appear. Petersen was devoted, in his full soul, to the great doctrine of the *Apokatastasis*, and continually sent out his books *de novo*, or as replies to the attacks of others.[2]

[1] See Adam's Religious World Displayed, Vol. iii. p. 393.

[2] Dr. Sawyer says, in his preface to the Philadelphia edition of the "Everlasting Gospel": There is in the Franklin Library, Philadelphia, a volume in German, entitled, "Golden Rose, or a Witness of the Truth, &c., by Christopher Schuetz." The preface to the first part was written at Umstadt, September, 1724; the preface to the second part is dated Offenbach on the Mayn, October, 1730. Among other things it contains a correspondence between Schuetz and Fischer, the latter of whom appears to have been a magistrate. They had a mutual friend in an individual by the name of David Schæfer, (in English, Shepherd.) Both Fischer and Schæfer died before the publication of the volume referred to, which contains an elegy on Fischer, and alludes in a touching manner to the death of Schæfer, which seems to have happened about six months earlier. These warm-hearted friends must have died between 1727 and 1731, though the date is not to be made out accurately. The last letter I find from Fischer is dated May, 1727. Schæfer wrote a work, entitled, *Everlasting Gospel*, which I have never seen, but which, in company with this of Siegvolk, and that of Schuetz above alluded to, was made the subject of undoubtedly the earliest printed attack on Universalism in America. I refer to Rev. R. Pomp's Examination of the Doctrine of the Everlasting Gospel, published in German, at Philadelphia, in 1774.

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM.

XII. Another writer of great eminence, who came forward to sustain the doctrine of endless punishment at this crisis, was the celebrated Dr. Mosheim, once divinity professor at Helmstadt, afterwards appointed chancellor of the University of Gottingen, but best known in our country as the author of an Ecclesiastical History, translated into English by Maclaine, and afterwards by Murdock. It is not for the voluminousness, strength or value of his work on endless punishment, that we notice it, (for it was a mere tract,) but on account of the eminent position of the author. It appeared A. D. 1725. Dr. Sawyer says, (and the fact cannot be doubted,) "It was written at a time when a very active controversy was going on in Germany, between the advocates of endless torments and universal salvation. And it seems to have been supposed that such a tract as this, from a man so eminent, would do much towards settling the controversy, and re-establishing the public faith in the dogma of endless hell punishments." [1] Mosheim says the work was required at his hand. His friends urged him to write it. "The innocent haste of some of my friends, who wished to have it published without my knowledge, and with some faults about it, induced me, when I became acquainted with their intention, to promise them that I would myself give it corrected to the press." [2] It would almost seem that he had friends on both sides of this controversy, for he appears to apologize for the publication. "What is there blameworthy in this? Had I not kept my promise, (i. e. in publishing this work,) should I not have sinned quite as much, as I do now in performing it? Besides, it is better to give the world a few sheets too much than too little on subjects of this

[1] Universalist Quarterly, vol. xii. p. 69.
[2] Dr. Mosheim's Preface to the Tract.

nature."[1] Numerous editions of the work were given to the public.

No sooner had this tract made its appearance, than it seemed to add fresh fuel to the fire of controversy. Petersen wrote immediately replies to the arguments of Dr. Mosheim; and in 1727 the latter said, "Petersen's two works, which he has written in opposition to me, may lie in Hamburg or be finally published. I shall regard them as if they had never been prepared. If he has so much confidence in the correctness of his opinions, what is the use of sending book after book upon it into the world?"[2] For the plain reason, one would think, because he had confidence in the correctness of his opinions. Why did Dr. Mosheim issue *his* publications, except for the same reason? Another work presently appeared, in which the arguments of Dr. Mosheim were reviewed. This was "a fundamental exposition of the eternal love of God in Christ, towards all fallen creatures, or an express proof that the doctrine of the restitution of all things is incontestably founded in nature and revelation, and is an ancient apostolic doctrine, and no opinion misleading to security." By Christian Pagenkop. Freystadt, 1726, 8vo. Mosheim calls Pagenkop a friend of the well known Dippel, and deemed his work worthy of an extended notice.

GERHARD'S WORK ON UNIVERSALISM.

XIII. But the year 1727 brought forth another work on the great doctrine of the restitution of all things. This was Gerhard's "*Systema Apokatastaseos*, that is, a complete system of the everlasting gospel of the restitution of all things."[3] Gerhard seems to have been a professor of Theology in the University of Rostock; but made himself obnoxious to some of the clergy around him, by a Christmas

[1] Dr. Mosheim's Preface to the Tract.
[2] Universalist Quarterly, xii. 84.
[3] Universalist Quarterly, xii. 85.

Sermon he had preached in 1718. His work on the Restitution was an important contribution to the arguments by which the doctrine was sustained. Mosheim took particular notice of it in a special preface to the second volume of his sermons, which appeared in the autumn of 1727. But Gerhard was more vigorously attacked on other sides, for Walch, in his "Introduction to the religious controversies in the Lutheran Church," mentions no less than fourteen volumes which his book called forth in a short time.[1] It was a large and learned work, and it attracted the attention of the professed believers in endless torments, and carried dismay into their ranks. John Francis Buddeus, President at Jena, speaks of Gerhard as a learned man, aside from his book on the restitution. The leading design of the work was to set forth "the complete doctrine of the Everlasting Gospel, concerning the Restitution of all Things, together with the groundless nature of the opposite doctrine concerning endless damnation." As may be inferred from what we have said, he was attacked on all sides, but he stood firmly; and the doctrine of eternal hell torments was held with less tenacity after the publication. From that time until the present, it has been exercising less and less power in Germany.[2] It is a fact worth remem-

[1] See Dr. Sawyer's article in Universalist Quarterly, vol. xii. p. 85.

[2] After the above paragraph was in type, I found a fuller account of Gerhard's *Systema Apokatastaseos*, than I had ever seen before. Lewis Gerhard took rank among the chief defenders of the universal restitution. He wrote only one book, though he afterwards gave an epitome of it. It was entitled, "The Complete System of the Everlasting Gospel of the Restoration of all Things, together with the baseless opposite doctrine of Eternal Damnation; with a Christmas Sermon, on the Spiritual Birth in us, being the root from which this Treatise springs." 1727, 4to. There are six chapters. In the first, the author wished to prove that endless damnation is inconsistent with eternal truths, and with the apologia Fidei, but that the Everlasting Gospel agrees with them; in the second, that the Everlasting Gospel of the Restoration of all Things is an article of faith of great importance: in the third, that there is no proof in the Scriptures, that the punishments inflicted in hell will be endless; in the fourth, that the doctrine of Universal Restoration is clearly revealed in the Bible; in the fifth, that the difficulties which adversaries suppose to be connected with the Everlasting Gospel are without foundation, and lastly, and in the sixth place, that the Everlasting Gospel is the point

bering, that Gerhard's work appeared in the same year in which Petersen died, (1727.) In the death of the latter, at the age of 78 years, Universalism lost a very exemplary, learned, and sincere friend.[1] His life itself was a strong defence round about his doctrine, for no one could bring

where the divine attributes meet. To one of his tracts he prefixed a long preface, in which he attacked his adversaries by name, Gender, Buddeus, Lampe, Gefhard, Zaniche, Stockmann, and especially the Theological Professors at Rostock. Gerhard's book gave rise to several other works. It exerted a wide influence.

[1] JOHN WILLIAM PETERSEN.

The wife of this man, Johanna Eleonora Petersen, was a believer in the Restitution of all Things before her husband received that great doctrine. To this he testifies in his autobiography. She was a convert to Jane Lead, of whom see Chap iii., section xxvi. pp. 159–163 of this history. Lead was devoted with great ardor to the doctrine of the *Apokatastasis Panton*. She was learned, pious, meek and benevolent; and the doctrine referred to suited the tenderness of her heart. She wrote many works to defend her favorite ideas, and by the help of her husband's fortune, she published and dispersed them. She exercised indirectly a great influence in Germany; for by bringing to the knowledge of her views, first Johanna Eleonora Petersen, and afterwards Petersen himself, she gave to Germany two of the most prominent defenders of Universalism who ever lived in that country. Eleonora wrote a book entited, "The Everlasting Gospel," but this must not be mistaken for Klein Nicolai's. She maintained that all sin, of every description, must come to an end. That this was written by his wife, Petersen himself assures us. At the end was an appendix of some writings in harmony with this doctrine, and some wonderful testimonies concerning Luther, who had doubts about the strictly endless duration of punishment. This book was attacked by Wolf, Helmstadt, 1699; by Koch, and by others. There is such a resemblance between the title of Mrs. Petersen's work and that of Klein Nicolai, that at this distance of time, it becomes somewhat difficult to distinguish between the replies to the two. The earliest replies to the Everlasting Gospel, (viz. those which appeared before 1700,) we think were aimed at Mrs. Petersen's book; and those which came later, were designed to refute Klein Nicolai's.

Petersen having become persuaded that the doctrine avowed by his wife was a most important truth, revealed by the living God, contended with great ardor for it, and to this end he compiled his three volumes, folio. When the first came out, not a few attacked it, and for a quarter of a century it formed the nucleus of Universalism, and the object of the opposition of the enemies of that doctrine. It must have been about 1690, that he set out to refute the doctrine of Jane Lead, but he was captivated by the great and glorious thought; and he lived about thirty-seven years afterwards to defend it. He aimed at nothing as much as defending the doctrine of the Restitution. He believed it a divine doctrine, clearly revealed in the Scriptures, agreeing with the will and purpose of God, and what all good men must desire. All three of Petersen's folio volumes were in favor of Universalism; and this is probably the largest publication wholly devoted to that doctrine, that ever appeared in the world, unless we except the consecutive volumes of some of the Univer-

any fault against him. He was meek, lowly, loving, pure; but in his devotion to his doctrine he had the spirit of a martyr. Had he lived a hundred and fifty years earlier, he would have gone to the stake for his opinions. Thus when God took away one support from his truth, he gave another, for Gerhard in some measure filled the place of Petersen.

SIEGVOLK STILL IN THE FIELD.

XIV. But among those who defended Universalism in those days, we must still remember Siegvolk or Klein-Nicolai, who, in 1729, published a volume entitled, "Solid but Modest Thoughts on Mosheim's unfounded arguments on the eternity of hell torments." "It took up," says Dr. Sawyer, "not only the tract before us, but also Mosheim's letter to Goenner, and grouping his positions together, under various distinct heads, replied to them at large.

"Klein-Nicolai's style is uniformly clumsy and often obscure, but his views are generally sound and clear. As a logician, he is far superior to his graceful opponent, and in the domain of Scripture, there seems to me to be no comparison between them. As a scholar, too, if we may fairly judge of the men by these portions of their labors, Klein-Nicolai stands above Mosheim. On this subject [Universalism] he at least has great advantage. He was familiar with it, while Mosheim's views of it were superficial and unsatisfactory." [1] So far Dr. Sawyer. Mosheim afterwards

salist journals of our day. We have named in another place the writers who appeared against Petersen, and need not repeat them here.

Jane Lead died at the very time (1704) when Petersen was laboring with such assiduity to spread her opinions in Germany. He defended himself against his enemies. The second and third volumes of his great work contain separate essays in reply to Winchler, Wolf, Henfler, Teuber, Pfaff, Schwerdtner, Fischlin, Mercker, Pfeffinger, &c., &c. And in other books and tracts he defended his long-loved doctrine of the restitution of all things. It was the great aim for which he lived, after he came to the knowledge of the truth. It is impossible not to do honor to his memory. He was earnest and indefatigable, but he was honorable and affectionate. His life was pure. He was a devout believer in the word of God. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were the source of wisdom to him.

[1] Universalist Quarterly, xii. 85, 86.

made some reference to the reply of Klein-Nicolai, but merely to complain of unimportant things, and not to grapple with the main facts in the case. The truth is, Mosheim was not a strong opponent of the Restitution.[1]

SCHLITTE'S REPLY TO MOSHEIM.

XV. Mosheim found another opponent in J. G. Schlitte, who published a work in 1747, entitled, "Scriptural and Rational Consideration of the Proof both for and against the Endless Misery of the Transgressors of God's law, and their ultimate restoration and re-establishment in holiness; occasioned by Mosheim's Thoughts on endless punishments, and set forth with all modesty out of love for the truth, and the deepest reverence for the infinite merit of Christ." This work widened the field of the controversy, for four or five other works came out to counteract its effects. In fact the time from 1720 to 1750, was particularly rich in German works, bearing upon one side or the other of the great question of Universal Restitution.

[1] FURTHER FACTS CONCERNING KLEIN NICOLAI.

Besides the book entitled the Everlasting Gospel, Seigvolk, or, more properly Klein Nicolai, wrote "Considerations on Henfler's lately published treatise against the holy doctrine of the blessed restitution of all things." This is also in the second volume of Petersen's great work. Klein Nicolai also wrote "Vain Contest against Truth and Innocence, which Dr. Neuss has begun, to his eternal shame in the treatise entitled, "Refutations of the Everlasting Gospel, falsely so called," i. e. falsely called a refutation. Aschersleben, 1711, 8vo.

He also wrote "Statements of what must be distinctly understood according to the true sense of the Holy Spirit, by the Restoration of all Things spoken of in Acts iii. 21, and the everlasting gospel mentioned in Rev. xiv. 6;" 1717. In this work his aim was to persuade his readers that the belief in Universal Restoration is not repugnant to the doctrine of the Evangelical Church nor to the Augsburg Confession.

He also wrote "Well Grounded but Modest Thoughts concerning Mosheim's Reasonings upon the Eternity of Hell Punishments. Published by request, 1729, 8vo. And then there came from the same author, "Investigation of some of the most Important Questions concerning the Kingdom of Christ," 1729, 8vo.; a work of ability about the Millenium and Universal Restitution, in the form of a dialogue.

THE CONTROVERSY FOR TEN YEARS, 1740–1750.

XVI. We give here, with some verbal changes, an article translated by Dr. Sawyer, and published in the *Christian Ambassador*, under date of January, 1855:

I propose to translate an article from a series of volumes in the Historical Library, entitled *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica*, published at Weimar, Germany, during a succession of years, beginning in 1736. The article which I here translate is found in Vol. xi. p. 946, et seq. and originally appeared in 1747. It is entitled: "*Recent History of the doctrine of the Restoration of all things.*"

"The doctrine of the restoration of the damned is making of late here and there, and especially in the Electorate of Brandenburg, no little commotion. There are men, both clerical and lay, who engage in the controversy on one side and the other. Among these is Provost and Inspector *Siegmund Baerensprung*, at Neuangermuende, who as early as 1739 published under his own name a work of 368 pp. 8vo., under the title — *The restoration of all things to their good original state at the creation, exhibited according to its proof and counter-proof.* In this work the author took great pains to explain the Hebrew and Greek words by which eternity is expressed, in such a manner as to remove the principal objection to the restoration, and also to convince his readers that this doctrine is founded on the eternal priesthood of Christ; on the universal monarchy of his kingdom; on all the divine attributes; yea, on both Scripture and reason, and thus indeed that pardon is promised to Lucifer himself and the whole host of wicked spirits.

"Next to him an old Inspector at Wusterhausen by the name of *Woelner*, published a restorationist Catechism, under the following title: — *The holy doctrine of the restoration of all things, briefly but satisfactorily exhibited to the simplest capacity from the word of God, in question and answer.* The old man teaches the doctrine publicly from the pulpit, and proves it among other things, by these words: "He will lose his gray head — nay, he will pledge his soul, if it is not true." In his catechism he sets forth his opinion as gloriously as if he believed it profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and that it would awaken men out of the sleep of security, and incite them to true holiness. This indeed he expresses in a special hymn which he subjoins.

"Those who would be particularly pious above others, teach and confess this doctrine to one another, and industriously read *Siegvolk's* Everlasting Gospel, which *Restel* some time ago republished with some bad annotations; insomuch that *Whiston's* prophecy in his *Eternity of Hell Torments*, that this doctrine would soon come to be publicly preached, seems to be already fulfilled, as was remarked in 1745, in the thirteenth number of the Altona Literary Times. In the Berlin State and Literary Times, of 1742, in the 151st number, we read the open-hearted confession: — "We cannot deny that

the doctrine of the restoration or the salvation of the damned finds such strong proofs in sound reason, in the holy Scriptures, and even in the justice and mercy of God himself, that no one has yet, at least, been fully able to overthrow them."

"Restel's new edition of Siegvolk or Klein-Nicolai's book is entitled, *George Paul Siegvolk's Everlasting Gospel of Eternal Redemption commanded to be preached to all creatures by Jesus Christ, through whom it has been obtained. A new edition enlarged by C. C. R.,*[1] *a disciple of Jesus Christ.* Frankfort and Leipzig, 1743.

"Before proceeding farther, we must mention that in the very same year in which an attempt was made to extend the doctrine of the restoration through the work of Baerensprung, another man in the neighboring Pomerania set himself in opposition to it. For there was published, *A confession of the love of God according to the truth, in the doctrine of endless punishment, drawn up from his own conviction, and published for the confirmation of others, by Jacob Voss.* Stettin, 1739. 8vo. 152 pp. In this work the author labored to meet the friends of the restoration on the ground of reason and Scripture.

"Meanwhile there were not wanting advocates of the restoration after this. For when *John Ernest Schubert*, then Adjunct at Jena, and now Superintendent at Stadthagen, had published in quarto at Jena, in 1741, his *Rational Thoughts on the Eternity of Hell Punishments*, we immediately see: *The universal love and grace of God, in the salvation of all men, interspersed with remarks upon Schubert's Rational Thoughts on the Eternity of Hell Punishments. By a Friend of the Truth.* Frankfort and Leipzig, 1742. 8vo. 368 pp. The author remained anonymous, chose obscure methods in the publication of his book, and employed such an obscure style that he who would understand him finds no little trouble. But scarcely was this work before the public, when Schubert brought out anew his tract, mentioned above, enlarged it by Scripture proofs, and made short work with his opposer. The title is — *Rational and Scriptural Thoughts on the Eternity of Hell Punishments, together with a vindication of himself against an anonymous Friend of the Restoration.* 4to. 592 pp.

"Last year there appeared against *Mosheim*, a 'Scriptural and rational consideration of the proofs both for and against the endless misery of the transgressors of God's law, and their ultimate restoration and re-establishment in holiness; occasioned by Mosheim's Thoughts on the doctrine of the end of Hell Punishments, and set forth with all modesty, out of love for the truth, and the deepest reverence for the infinite merit of Christ.' Frankfort and Leipzig, 1747. 8vo. 272 pp.

"This work was praised in the Berlin Times, No. 131, and still was found fault with, because the author does not show how punishments can beget true virtue, since this must spring from love; and wishes to parley as it were, on the supposition of a year of Jubilee, and to

[1] C. C. Restel.

make a thousand years out of every year or every day. After a while it was discovered that *Schlitte*, the adjunct inspector at Wusterhausen, was the author of this work, and that it was published at the expense of a wealthy nobleman, who is deeply interested in this doctrine. The author has here opposed particularly the appendix of Mosheim in the first volume of his Sermons, and examined the letter which he published in the second volume against *Pagenkop*. He has also subjoined a peculiar appendix. For a French work under the title — 'Le système des Théologiens anciens et modernes concilié par l' exposition des differens sentimens sur l' état des ames séparées des corps. En quatorze Lettres,' &c.; i. e., 'The system of the theologians, ancient and modern, reconciled by the exposition of different opinions upon the state of souls separated from the body. In fourteen Letters,' had been published in London, first in 1731, and afterwards in 1733 and 1739, 8vo. In this work the author maintained the restoration of all things, and also the doctrine of a middle state for souls after death. In a second part — *Suite du système*, &c., (Sequel to the System,) he vindicated his opinion against a work: *Examen de l' Origénisme, par M. le Professeur R****. (Examination of Origenism. By Prof. R.) This work Schlitte introduces and praises as one in which the restoration is clearly proved, and he presents it as an evidence that this doctrine is revealed in the Scriptures and written in every heart, and must be true, because two persons so far removed from one another have been brought into it. But notwithstanding this, he finds some very suspicious principles in it, which he points out, and to which he will give no countenance.

"Meanwhile, there were various persons who vigorously opposed *Schlitte*. Pastor *Stein* of Drense, near Prentzlau, has in two treatises confuted this doctrine, and examined Restel's notes on Siegvolk's Everlasting Gospel. One of these treatises will be published by itself; the other is to appear in a collection of small polemical pieces, which Senior *Wagner*, of Hamburg, has promised the public.

"A village preacher, *Georgi*, sixty-five years of age, appeared and published a book of 184 pp. 8vo. against the doctrine, under the title — 'Absurdities in a work of two eminent Restorationists, who have published against the discourses of Mosheim on Eternal Damnation, exhibited and proved. By one who has to his old age been an enemy of the Restoration, and remains so still,' &c.

"In reply to this appeared — 'An answer to the Absurdities, which a clergyman has published against the friends of the Restoration, sketched by some true friends of good books.' 4to. 1747. But since this bold and excited preacher, the old Georgi, attacked many others at the same time, and especially introduced many personalities against 'the distinguished nobleman,' and 'the eminent clergyman,' as he calls them, the Attorney General has instituted an action against him, and caused his work to be suppressed as a lampoon. And as to the main point, he has defended his cause with but moderate ability. On the other hand, several other works have appeared against that of Schlitte. Among them may be numbered,

"1. Prof. Frederick Stiebritz's 'Eternity of Hell Punishments

proved, together with an answer to the Considerations against Mosheim.' Halle, 1747. 8vo. 464 pp. The author first presents a history of the doctrine of the restoration, then in the first part he exhibits the proof for the eternity of hell punishments, drawn particularly from the nature of sin, and confirmed by the Holy Scriptures; and in the second part examines the pretended arguments of his opposer.

"2. 'Defence of the doctrine of the eternity of hell punishments, against the Scriptural and Rational Consideration,' &c. Frankfort and Leipzig, 1747. 8vo. 288 pp. The author is anonymous. In the first place he states and examines the grounds on which the Everlasting Gospel is built; then he proves the eternity of hell punishments, and in the third place comes to the rescue of Mosheim.

"3. 'Impartial Examination of the Treatise entitled, *Scriptural and Rational Consideration*, &c., written to justify the Thoughts of the venerable Mosheim, and published by Henry Meene.' First part. Helmstadt, 1747. 8vo. 448 pp. What Counsellor Meene of Quedlinburg, a relative of Chancellor Mosheim, promised in the Gottingen Literary Times he has here fulfilled, but at present he has published only three chapters, in which he states the opinions on both sides, and the sources from which the two doctrines are derived, and undertakes to explain what sound reason has to say on the subject, while the rest is left for us to expect in the second part.

"4. Prof. Canz's ninth part of the 'Reinbeck Considerations upon the Augsburg Confession,' in which he has, in a supplement, expressed his thoughts upon the Scriptural and Rational Consideration, but only on the question, How the Gospel could be preached in hell, and the damned brought to repentance.

"5. Chancellor Mosheim, in the preface to the fourth part of his Moral Philosophy, has himself promised to attend to his opposer, but has hitherto been prevented from the execution of his design."

Thus ends this article. And it must be confessed that it exhibits a pretty active controversy for the space of ten years or something less. Earnest as we have been in America, there have been few periods in our history, of the same length, in which more works have appeared for and against the doctrine of Universalism than we have recorded here. In Walch's History of Religious Controversies, in and out of the Lutheran Church; in Kraft's New Theol. Library, as also in Ernesti's, we have a large collection of similar, and many more elaborate notices of various works and discussions on this subject, upon which the Germans have been more or less engaged ever since the Reformation.

LATTER PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

XVII. In 1740, was born that benevolent Universalist, Jung Stilling, but his writings in behalf of Universalism did not commence until near the close of the century. We

will notice the good man again in another place. From about the middle of the eighteenth century, the doctrine of endless misery has been generally doubted in Germany. Some few there have always been to defend it; but the better part of the theologians of that country have preferred to speak doubtfully, candidly, cautiously on this great subject. They do not care to make the matter prominent. Many there are who will, at all events, oppose the dogma of endless punishments; others prefer to pass the matter over in silence, and some few approve that dogma. Thiess says, that "thinking Christians will not readily seek for proofs for or against eternal punishments in the Old Testament, nevertheless it is thought there are some passages therein that prove that doctrine. In the New Testament passages are found both for and against that doctrine."[1] Doederlein, although quite evangelical, says, on Matt. xxv. 46, "Even if the most definite use of the word *aionios*, should cut off every hope of an end, and if we do not take into consideration the design of the speech and the figures of parables, nevertheless, except the eternity of a certain commonwealth of the condemned, I do not see what inferences can be drawn from these words." [Inst. Theol. Christ. Part ii. p. 150 fol.] Rosenmuller speaks doubtfully in some places about strictly endless punishments, and so do many others of the best scholars in Germany, who do not choose to declare plainly that all men shall at last be saved. No one can read the German theologians without seeing that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a large share of the public confidence in the dogma of endless punishments had passed away. In the system of doctrines (says Thiess) which the apostles of our Lord communicated to the first Christian communities, the dogma of "eternal punishments in hell," seems

[1] For this and many other quotations from Thiess, see his work entitled, "Biblical and Ecclesiastical Teachings on the Eternity of Hell Punishments, by J. Otto Thiess."

not to have been contained as a particular doctrine, at least not as a fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion.

The only place from which such a conclusion might be drawn, is Hebrews vi. 2. And, indeed, Dr. Storr, in his Explanations of the Epistle to the Hebrews, says: "These truths belong to the very elements of Christianity. Acts xxvi. 31; x. 42. 1 Cor. xv. 13, 19, 29 foll." But all these and several other passages, which may be quoted here, can only be considered as proofs of the other doctrines which are mentioned there, and especially of the main doctrine of a life after death.

This main doctrine is presented by Saint Paul, Heb. vi. 2, under a twofold aspect of "the resurrection of the dead, and an eternal judgment;" and it is very doubtful whether the latter expression really refers to the punishments, and condemnation of the wicked Jews, and not to the last, and therefore eternal judgment in general, as a consequence of the resurrection of the dead, which after all is to be considered as a blessed one. At any rate, the mention of endless punishments is a very general one. This doctrine also is put beside the article of the laying on of hands, which in our Christian faith, can be considered neither as a distinctive nor as a fundamental doctrine.

In the so-called apostolic creed, continues Thiess, the doctrine of everlasting punishment is not mentioned. The language is: "I believe in the resurrection of the flesh and in eternal life;" — almost in the same connection as in Heb. vi. 2. In the same manner as the doctrine of endless punishment in hell has been derived from this passage, and even laid down as a fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion, one could draw the conclusion from this creed, (which certainly is very old, and if not original and genuine, is truly apostolic, that is, truly Christian,) that the first Christians denied the idea of eternal punishments, now so general, that they had an entirely contrary

doctrine in regard to this point, that is to say, that they believed only in eternal life.

The doctrine of Universalism was not formally condemned, until the convocation of the so-called fifth general council of the church, which the Emperor Justinian convoked in the year 552. The ninth article of this council runs thus: "If anybody teaches or believes that the punishment of the devils and the wicked be only transitory, and that it will end some time, that is to say, that there will be a restitution of the devils and of the wicked, he shall be accursed." It was five hundred and fifty years after Christ, before the doctrine of Univeralism was condemned by authority. It had taken all this time for the dogma of endless torments to obtain the position which should render it heresy to deny it.

Thiess maintained again that in the so-called symbolic books of the Evangelic-Lutheran Church, the doctrine of endless punishment is mentioned only once and that in the most general way, more in negative than in positive expressions, viz. in the "Augsburg Confession."

The seventeenth article, speaking of the coming of Christ to judgment, contains the following: "It is also taught that our Lord Jesus Christ will come at the last day to judgment, to raise all the dead, to give eternal life and joy to the faithful and selected, but he will condemn the wicked and the devils unto hell and everlasting punishment. Therefore the Anabaptists will be rejected, who are teaching that the devils and the condemned men will not suffer eternal torments." Comp. C. Sonntag's Vindiciæ Aug Conf. artic. 17. Altonæ, 1708; S. J. Baumgarten's Explanations, etc. Halle, 1747, p. 63, foll.

There had been in Germany, it is true, some who believed in the endless torment of the wicked, but Thiess maintains there had always been some more *liberal* Christians, especially Evangelic-Lutheran teachers and writers, who did not

approve the common opinion, but opposed it publicly, or at least did not always speak of it in handed-down expressions, and who have laid down their own opinions to be examined and reflected upon by others.[1]

[1] Thiess gives the following facts in proof, — "Ernestus Sonners wrote, 1630, "Demonstratio theol. et philos. quod aeterna supplicia impiorum non justitiam Dei arguent sed injustiam," against whom G. W. Leibnitz and H. Huthmann have made some remarks, which, however, have not been printed. Leibnitz mentions it in his Theodicee, P. III. §§ 266–271, pp. 450–455. He intended to publish it with a preface and notes. Mosheim also intended to confute it, and already in his first treatise concerning eternal punishment, which he added to his first volume of Sermons, 1725, he referred to Sonners as to the most sagacious opponent of this doctrine, but the work was not published. The preface of Leibnitz has been published by Lessing.

Important objections to the doctrine of eternal punishment have been made by Bayle ("La response aux questions," &c. &c.)

In England several writings of this kind had been published in the last century, among which Richardson's, 1658; new edit., 1708, in the 2d book of the collection entitled, "The Phenix, or a revival of scarce and valuable pieces," p. 427, foll. Vol. I. p. 1, there is a like treatise, "A letter of resolution concerning Origen and the chief of his opinions, by C. L., Esquire," Lond. 1661. Leade wrote a so-called gospel, "A revelation of the everlasting Gospel-message, that by the blood of the everlasting covenant all prisoners shall be free." Lond. 1697. This book was translated into German by a member of the Philadelphian Society, with a short appendix of passages from Scripture in proof of the doctrine, and several remarkable testimonies of Luther, 1699. It occasioned much debate.

J. Will. Petersen intended to refute Leade's book, but during the perusal he was taken with her opinions, and at length convinced; see his biography, p. 297. Probably induced by him, his wife Johanna Eleonora Petersen, made the translation mentioned above, and wrought the book over again. Against this several writings appeared immediately. John Joach. Wolf: "Short remarks concerning the question,—whether after this life a universal restoration may be hoped in truth." Helmst. 1699. Christ. Gottl. Koch, "*Apokatastaseos.* Act. III. 21. solida et orthodoxa expositio." Kil. 1699. Zach. Grapius, "Examination of a book called *The Everlasting Gospel.*" Rost. 1699. Thom. Ittig, "De evangelio mortuis adnuntiato," Leipz. 1699, whose treatise was aimed at the same time against F. H. Lichtscheid's "Christian reflections upon the book of the Everlasting Gospel." Leipz. 1700. Zullich. 1733. John Wern. Pistorius, "God's eternal judgment of wrath." Magdeb 1700. Against all these and several later opponents Petersen endeavored to defend himself in a large work, of which the 1st Vol. appeared under the title: *Musterion Apokatastaseos panton*, that is, Mystery of the Restoration of all things. (Offenbach) 1701. The 2d Vol.: The Mystery of the restoration of all things through Jesus Christ, 1703, and the 3d: The restoration of all things proved from the Scripture, 1710. His name appears in the title-page of this last volume.

The principal opponents of Petersen were—John Winkler in the preface to the sermons of Horbius on the sufferings of Christ. Hamb. 1700. John Ray: "The world's beginning, change and fall." p. 435, foll. John Haenfler, "Candid Dialogue." 1702. J. Chr. Pfaff, "de restitutione omnium rerum." Tub. 1705. J. D. Schwerdtner: "Examination according to the

Though no one, says the German writer, can be prohibited from full examination, yet every true searcher and friend of truth must always take heed, lest his opinions, even if

Scripture." Dresd. 1706. Sam. Chr. Teuber: "geminum argumentum." Magd. 1708 L. Melch. Fischlin: "theatrum mysterii Apokat. pan. denudatum et destructum." Ulm. 1715. Complete demonstration that the Everlasting Gospel is false." 1715. John Mercker: "Treatise on the restoration of all things." 1708. H. G. Neusius' "Refutation of the Everlasting Gospel." 1700. Against which G. Paul Siegvolk or Klein-Nicolai, mentioned before, wrote — "Vain strife against truth and innocence." Ashersl. 1711. Daniel Pfeffinger "de restitutione diabolorum." Strasb. 1709. Beside the chief-work, Petersen wrote concerning this matter, "The whole economy of God's love in Christ." Magd. 1707. "The glory of the Lamb's bride." 1718. "The testimony of the truth concerning the restitution of all things." 1718. "Alethea victrix." 1726. Also, a collection of writings made its appearance, "The universal love of God triumphant over calumny," 1716, most of them from the pen of Petersen. Against him also — Zachary Portzig: "Truth triumphant." Altbg. 1722. Theoph. Hirschfeld; "Erroneous doctrine of the Redemption of the Condemned." Hamb. 1725. And "Evident proof." 1726. Against which Christ. Pagenkop wrote: "Truth vindicated by J. W. Petersen." 1727.

Christophr Seebach tried to spread the doctrine of the restoration of all things through the following writings: "Explanation of the 87th Psalm." 1707. Of the 145th Psalm. 1708. Of the 66th Psalm. (Petersen, *Must. Apokat.* Vol. III.) "Representatio apostol. ecclesiæ." Leips. 1721. Comp. "Unschuldige Nachrichen" 1707, p. 708; 1709, p. 495.

G. Klein-Nicolai published, under the name of G. P. Siegvolk, "The Gospel of eternal salvation through Jesus, the judge of the living and the dead, ordered by him to be preached to all creatures." 1700, 1705, 1713, Leips. 1730. New edition by C. C. Restel. Frankf. and Leips. (Altona.) 1743, comp. Kraft's Information of the latest theol. books. Vol. II. Jen. 1743, p. 405, foll. "Considerations on Hænfler's Tr." (in Petersen's Myst. Vol. II.) "Vain strife," etc., see above. "Explanation of what must be understood by the restoration of all things, mentioned in Acts iii. 21." 1717: "Well-grounded and sober thoughts on Mosheim's thoughts." 1729: "Discussion of some of the most important questions concerning Christ's kingdom." 1720.

"Dialogue in the Kingdom of Grace, between Theoph. Lebrecht and Dositheus Eleison, concerning the universal redemption of all mankind." 1722.— Against it: Truth, triumphant in the Kingdom of Grace. Wahrenb. 1727.— "Dialogue in the realm of Truth." "Considerations against the so-called Restoration," 1728.— Ludwig Gerhard: "Systema Apokatastaseos; that is, Complete doctrine of the Everlasting Gospel of the Restoration of all things," 1717.— Supplementary is, "Thorough vindication and defence." 1728.— Short exposition of the Everlasting Gospel. 1729.

The leading German divines and theological writers argued for moderation. Good men had taken both sides of the question, some on one side, some on the other; there were reasons for both sides; let each one judge for himself and be charitable to others. In cultivating a charitable spirit, a man will be sure to please God. Such was the ground taken by the wise and good in Germany, all along through the middle of this century; few taught without doubt the doctrine of endless torments; and the belief in the final happiness of all men prevailed more and more.

John Solomon Semler, "Institutio ad doctrinam Christianam liberaliter

he finds them completely evangelical, and therefore utters them frankly, may offend. Especially must we, and above all, young ministers, be careful in the pulpit, both in con-

discendam," Hal. 1774, p. 688, foll. "Moreover, we must not judge forthwith too harshly all those who believe they find something in the perfect idea of a Supreme Being, which they may use in behalf of that joyful hope concerning so many unhappy men; nevertheless, we must admit that the imperfect judgment of men cannot pretend to decide thus concerning the right and the dominion of the Most High. Our compassion acts without reason, because we have not that infinite knowledge which is required here. We, therefore, who understand correctly enough that that unhappiness will not be outward pain, but that the state of our own minds prepares us hell, should rather strive that we ourselves may attain a sure and permanent happiness; whatever at last may be the history of those whom we already here call not unjustly bad and wicked. We shall abstain from unsettled questions of this kind. But if there are any who prefer that opinion, which is rather bold, yet they can with no right pretend that they possess a greater piety towards God and men, and cannot publicly despise or ridicule the sentiments of their adversaries: they are rather so far from the desire of usefulness, that in this manner they give much scandal to many less acquainted with the matter. Others may have believed, and we know that formerly there have been those who believed, that the place of torments was in the ocean, in the bowels of the earth, in the sun, in volcanic mountains, too boldly and too inconsiderately; but they have felt that their religious care and watchfulness were increased by such pictures. If there are those who believe that they can live better without these conceptions, let them also follow the opinion which tends to make them better Christians.

Joh. Aug. Eberhard —"New Apology for Socrates," vol. I. new edition. Berlin, 1776, p. 359, foll. Vol. II. 1773, p. 379, foll. Ernesti's opinion concerning this book, was, (Newest libr. vol. II. p. 631 and 633,) "Concerning the dogmatical proofs the author is sometimes right; the exegetical only are not "refuted." The writer also was not acquainted enough with the history and literature of this doctrine. The names of the fathers of the Church, quoted p. 370, are copied from Grotius in Matt. 25, 46. To the remarks which Eberhard made in his treatise, p. 396, foll., against Leibnitz, Lessing gave an answer (to the Hist. and Lit. I. Contribut. p. 214, foll.) saying, most appropriately, "Eberhard would have done better if he had not spoken of this point in an Apology for Socrates, as the latter believed in eternal punishments of the wicked." Eberhard made remarks on Lessing's objections, especially in the second book.

Samuel Mursinna — "Compend. theol. dogma. Hal," 1777, p. 261, said, "Concerning the duration of punishments, people speak pro and contra. According to our judgment, the philosophical reasons which some have brought forth, are so far from demonstrating the eternity of punishments, that some of them are the most contrary to it."

John Fried. Gruner's "Instit. theol. dogma.". Hal. 1777, p. 635. "If the happiness of the unjust in the future world is called eternal, that eternity must not be understood of an infinite duration, which has no end at all, but of an indefinite one. For the condemned will be unhappy and remain so as long as they persist obstinately in a state of moral servitude. But they will cease to be unhappy when they have been brought into a state of moral liberty by Christ; but with this difference, that those who have

tending against erroneous and pernicious opinions, and in defining this doctrine according to Scripture and reason.

True Christians, loving truth, will the less get into un-

stained themselves in this life with very horrible crimes and atrocious deeds, will never come to that height of felicity which is perfect happiness."

Gottf. Sam. Steinhart's "System of pure Philosophy, or the doctrine of happiness of the Christian." Second edition, Zull. 1780, p. 203, foll. "Concerning the erroneous ideas of the prospects in the future world, I should not utter here a single word, if the common dreadful and horrible hypothesis concerning hell torments, were not quite contrary to the design and the spirit of Christ's religion; and if all pure love of the Father of the spiritual world in this way were not interdicted to men" p. 217, foll. comp. J. Andr. Cramer's "Contributions to improve theology and other important knowledge." P. 4, Hamb. 1783, p. 240. Ch. L. H. Dedekind—"Concerning human happiness, in connection with the higher happiness under the moral government of God." Braunschw, 1789, p. 48, foll. See Universal Gazette for ministesrs. 1790, p. 341.

Gottf. Less' "Manual of the theory of the Christian religion for more enlightened people." Third edition. Gott. 1780, p. 708, foll. "It is certain that really endless punishments have been threatened to the wicked on the part of God. It is also certain, that truth will not be violated, even if these threatenings should not be entirely executed. § 61. The threatening of eternal punishment may possibly be conditionary. Hell torments will be endless, if the wickedness and obduracy of the condemned does not cease. But whether this will ever cease or not, and what God's wisdom will deem best in regard to the actual execution of these threatenings, no mortal can say." Of the same opinion were Tillotson (Sermon on the Eternity of hell torments. 2d vol. 11th sermon). Eberhard's "Apology for Socrates." Vol. 1. p. 366. Bushing—(General remarks concerning the symbolic writings.) Barhdt (Letters on the system Theologie, to improve relig. toleration. 2d vol. 4th Coll. p 303.

John Christ. Doederlein, Instit. Theol. Chr. 1782. p. 95. "That this state will last a long time, we defend from the text of the Scripture. But that all who came into this misery suffer perpetual punishment for their sins, without end, is neither taught in these places nor elsewhere, nor can we be pursuaded of it by the arguments of philosophers, who either assume that sinners are infinitely guilty, or take their refuge in the infinite wisdom of God, or maintain that on account of the continued desire of sinning in the minds of the unhappy, and because the means of obtaining a better mind and a better condition are denied them, eternal punishments are almost necessary." Comp. his Select Theol. Library. V. I. N. 6. Leipz. 1782, p. 433, foll.

Stark's "Frank considerations, &c." 2d edition. Berl. 1782, foll. "Reason has undoubtedly very important objections to make against the doctrine of eternal punishment, which have appeared so conclusive to several pious teachers among the Christians, that they have thought to defend Christian Revelation against a very weighty reproach by rejecting this doctrine."

Job. Rud Gottl Beyer —"Essay on the punishments of the condemned and their duration." Leip. 1792. This author thinks that Christ and his apostles, by using the expressions *aion* and *aionios*, to denote the duration of an unhappy state, had determined nothing, but only intended to remove the idea of an early end of the punishment. He believes that Christian doctrine favors the idea of degrees in the duration of these punishments.

becoming disputes the more they give freedom to the inquiry about this point. And with all the difference of opinions, or rather of hopes, which they cannot give up, they will, with unanimity of mind, wait for the coming of their Lord. Whatever then they may have believed here, and whatever they may see at that time, all will undoubtedly join in the harmonious praise to be uttered by the whole creation. "Lord thou art just, — thou who art and who wast, and thou art holy who hast judged in this way."

IMMANUEL KANT.

XVIII. From the preceding sections, a somewhat satisfactory view may be obtained of the state of the public mind in Germany, in regard to the doctrine of the Endlessness of Torment, on the one hand, and that of the final holiness and happiness of all men, on the other. We see with what feebleness and dissatisfaction the former doctrine was held; and we find, too, there were many who believed and loved the latter. The changes which were going on were more and more favorable to the great hope, that all men at last shall finally become holy and happy. The learned men, the philosophers, as well as the theologians, felt this change.

We may refer to Immanuel Kant, whom we can love as

Matt. 12; Luke 16. From 1 Cor. 15: 22-28, he takes the comfort of a happy state of all creatures, and tries to prove it fully from the parallelism of Saint Paul. "God is the most just, without positive punishment, for he is not a man. Positive hell torments presuppose absolutely human faults, hate, revenge, in God."

J. J. Griesbach, "Instruction for studying popular doctrines." 2d edition. Jen. 1786, p. 108 foll. "One cannot help thinking that even in the not improbable case (§ 105) of correction, the state of the corrected in comparison with the state of those who become happy without delay, will always be nearly in the same relation as, in the beginning, when the latter entered eternal happiness. Whether and how far the positive punishments of God will be endless, may be left undecided without offending against the above quoted Scripture passages, or any other religious truth"

Samuel Friederick Nathan Morus: Epitome theol. Chr. Leips. 1789, p. 275, foll. 'Truly, (what cannot be enough repeated to implant modesty in the mind) we do not know what that future misery will be, and we must not decidedly deny anything as impossible.'

a good man, if we cannot receive every part of his philosophy. His manhood covered the latter part of the 18th century. He said:

"Be it observed, that from the oldest times, two systems have existed; relative to future eternity; the one a system which promises to all men, who have undergone shorter or longer purifications, an ultimate eternal felicity; the other, a dual system, which promises to some elect persons future felicity, but to all others eternal damnation. A system which should promise damnation to all could not be supported; because it would contain no justificatory ground of its own existence; and an ultimate annihilation of all, would imply a mistaken wisdom, an erring intelligence, which, dissatisfied with its work, knew no other means of removing its defects, than by breaking it to pieces. Now the same difficulty lies in the way of a two-fold system, that has prevented the system of universal damnation from being maintained: for why it might be asked, were a few or single one, made at all, if only to exist in order to be made eternally miserable, which is infinitely worse, than non-existence." [1]

JUNG STILLING.

XIX. Jung, John Henry, called Stilling, was born in 1740, in Nassau, and died in 1817, at Carlsruhe. He was at first apprenticed to a tailor; but a humble origin is not incompatible with subsequent distinction. He at first attempted to become a school-master; was baffled, and returned to his tailor's business. Afterward he went to Strasburg to study medicine, and became a celebrated physician. Of all that have ever lived, he was one of the most successful operators for the cure of the cataract; and Matthisson said in 1795, "already has Stilling restored sight to more than two thousand poor blind people, not only gratis, but, in many cases, with the addition of pecuniary assistance." He loved to be among the poor; and, in one of his works, "he relates with modesty and simplicity, the way in which his life was passed among the classes of people less favored by exterior gifts of fortune;

[1] This extract is taken from a small work by Kant, entitled. "The End of all Things." See Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, volume x. p. 11.

and his pious and pure heart discloses itself so unaffectedly and involuntarily, and the style is at the same time so excellent, that the work is one of the most popular among the German classics." Besides several interesting works on moral subjects, he made himself known by his numerous books on medicine and political economy.[1]

This excellent man was a believer in the final holiness and happiness of all mankind, a doctrine which took strong hold of his affections, and which he not only adorned by an unspotted life of benevolence, but supported by his learning and influence. Prof. Tholuck in his letter to Rev. T. J. Sawyer, of New York, (Secretary of the Universalist Historical Society,) written in August, 1835, says, that the doctrine of the universal restitution "came particularly into notice through Jung-Stilling, that eminent man, who was a particular instrument in the hand of God for keeping up evangelical truth in the latter part of the former century, and at the same time a *strong patron to that doctrine*".[2] This is a valuable testimony. It comes from one of the leaders among the evangelical party in Germany — one of the most learned — the most beloved. He tells us, not only that Stilling was a Universalist, but that he was ardently and eminently so. He brought the doctrine particularly into notice in his day, and he was (as Tholuck says) a particular instrument in the hand of God for keeping up evangelical truth. we are enabled to give an extract from one of Stilling's works, on the knowledge of Spirits. An edition was published in Reading, Pa., in 1815. On pages 54, 55, we read as follows :

"What prince would condemn one of his children to a dungeon for life, for some juvenile misdemeanor; and should God, infinite Love, punish a man, his own creature, even if he had sinned above a hundred

[1] See Encyclopedia Americana, Art. "Jung."
[2] See Expositor and Universalist Review. Volume iii.; new series, p. 341.

years, with a punishment which would last myriads of years, and when these were passed, to begin anew!

"Can, in the most righteous judgment, where Love itself is judge, finite sin merit infinite punishment?—away with this abominable thought! But that sinful man, from one period of his existence to another, is from time to time brought into more effectual penetentiaries, till, at last, he is conquered; for his Creator and Saviour is God-like, consistent with his eternal love, and just.

"I ask further: Would the Son of God have completed the work of salvation, if he had saved only the fourth or fifth part of his brethren, for whom he had become man, suffered and died? No! he would have failed; and this he could not do, hence not a single soul will be lost, they will ALL — ALL be saved at last, the holy Scriptures do not in one instance say the contrary, and they cannot say it, and if it even seems so, we then must choose the most reasonable construction. But they do not even seem to say it, for all the passages wherewith some are essaying to prove the infinity of hell torments, prove nothing further, than that they shall continue a long undefined time. The Hebrew word *Olam*, and the Greek *Aionios*, which Luther has translated by *ewig* (eternal), signify nowhere an infinite, but a very long, an indefinite time."

TWO OTHER WORKS, 1766-1770.

XX. Two or three other works appeared about this time (1770), in which their authors attempted to sustain the theory of endless pains, a doctrine certainly then sinking in the estimation of thinking, pious and benevolent men. One of the works was entitled, "*Lettres Philosophico, Theologique sur l'Eternite du Peine,*" Amsterdam and Leipsic, 1771. It was anonymous. Rosseau had rejected the doctrine of endless torments, because it was at war with the perfections of God. The unknown author seeks to answer Rosseau's objections. He modifies and softens the doctrine of endless pains, in order to make it less repulsive to men. He held that although many would be lost forever, yet a much larger number would be saved than men were accustomed to believe would reach heaven at last. Ernesti complained that this work turned out very different from what he expected, when he commenced to

read it, and that the author used terms in a sense unlike what they generally bore.[1]

Another work, designed to prop up the doctrine of endless torments, was entitled, "*La Realite et l'Eternite des Peines de l'Enfer demonstratee, par des raisons philosophique contre l'Irreligion et la Superstition.*" Amsterdam, 1766. Ernesti speaks of this too as an unsatisfactory work. The author abandons many of the former grounds on which the doctrine of the eternity of pains had been based, and sought to place that doctrine on the love of God. The sight of hell torments will be necessary to keep the saints and angels pure, that are in heaven. Says Ernesti, "what a miserable virtue, what a wretched obedience is that which can be secured only through the fear of punishment, which no views of the love of God, no reverence of the Divine Being, no excellence of virtue itself, can produce. The author wrote and tried to explain his theory to Ernesti's satisfaction, but the latter would not retract what he had said.[2]

UNIVERSALISM AMONG THE RATIONALISTS.

XXI. [3] Having traced Universalism thus far, — we now proceed to speak of it among the Rationalists. Of that part of them who were but infidels under another name, we shall not speak. But there are many of the supposed Rationalists who do not seek to bend every thing to reason. They

[1] See Ernesti's Neueste Theologische Bibliothek, vol ii. p. 184-188.

[2] See the Neue Bibliothek, vol. vii. pp. 237-247.

[3] Through the whole course of the writing of this history, I have felt greatly the want of a work mentioned by Thiess, which neither I, nor Dr. Sawyer, nor any other of my brethren have been able to obtain. We cannot determine the value of a work we have never seen, but from the title we judge it would have been very useful to us. It was by J. F. Cotta, and was entitled "*Historia Suscincta dogmatis de pœnarum infernalium duratione. Tubingen*, 1774." It may yet be our fortune to fall in with this book. Any person possessing it (if any such there be) is requested to give us notice whether we can obtain it by purchase, or the loan of it a short time by indulgence.

receive the Christian religion as a divine revelation, proved to be such, not solely by its conformity to human reason, but by the exalted character of Jesus, and the wonderful miracles which he performed. Among the latter persons, the doctrine of the restitution of all things is very generally received. Prof. Credner bore testimony that the great body of the better class of the Rationalists of Germany agree in rejecting the dogma of endless misery,[1] and in entertaining the belief of the final holiness and happiness of all men. Some have been very forward in the defence of this faith. They have regarded it as very important, a knowledge of which is necessary to the happiness of men.

It is exceedingly difficult to class the German divines. Some incline to Rationalism; some are opposed to it; and of those whom we would call Evangelical divines, there are many different shades.

Disgusted at the errors, bigotry and arrogance of Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed, many of the learned in Germany turned from them in disgust; some, sickening at the name of religion, became Atheists; others, charging upon Christianity the errors of men, took refuge in the comfortless speculations of Deism; but a third class, possessing the prudence to examine the Divine Word for themselves, saw clearly the distinction between the *real* and the *alleged* doctrines of Revelation, and asserted and maintained, the purer system of Jesus Christ. The three principal and popular errors, which they opposed, were the doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement in the Calvinistic sense, and eternal Punishment.

Among these theologians may be reckoned Gruner, Eberhard, Steinbart, Damm, Fuller, and Semler. Steinbart was teacher of divinity at Frankfort, on the Oder, and his sentiment was, to use his own words, "God can never punish any more than is necessary for his reformation. He cannot mis-

[1] Universalist Expositor; vol. vi. p. 248.

take in the choice of his means, and must always reach his end. He would appear less lovely, if one creature should be forever miserable." [1] He published at Zullichan the "Christian Doctrine of Happiness," in which, says the Orthodox Erskine, "the unscriptural sentiments which have appeared in the German books and journals, as to the divinity and atonement of Christ, are reduced to a system, with several additions of his own." [2]

Gruner, divinity-professor at Halle, in a compend of divinity, published in 1777, argues against the supreme divinity of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments.[3] But of all whose writings we have seen, Eberhard, in his Apology for Socrates,[4] confutes the most largely the doctrine of endless punishment.[5] Discussing the doctrine of Atonement, he maintains that:

"Punishment being an evil, cannot be employed by a good being, unless for ends whose goodness is greater than the evils suffered, and which could not be obtained without inflicting them. God punishes not for the common good only, but also for the reformation of the sufferer; which being accomplished, punishment has no further use. It was designed to influence the love and practice of virtue; and when these are produced, it must give place to the happy consequences of amendment. Punishment, therefore, being a benefit even to the sufferer, when properly viewed by him, must produce emotions of love and gratitude."[5]

This work was soon attacked by Mr. H. Van Alphen,[6] and by Huet,[7] minister of the Walloon Church at Utrecht.

[1] Erskine's Sketches of Church History.
[2] Ibid, 207.
[3] Erskine's Sketches of Church History, i. 214.
[4] Nieuwe Apologie voor Socrates, Amsterdam, 8vo. 1773.
[5] Erskine's Sketches, i. 26, 27.
[6] Eenigne Leerstakken van dan Protestantischen Godsdienst verdedigd, door Mr. H. Van Alphen, Utrecht, 1775, i. e. Some doctrines of the Protestant Religion defended by Mr. H. Van Alphen.
[7] Reflexions sur la Nouvelle Apologie pour Socrate. 1 vol. 8vo. Utrecht, 1774.

"The Wolfian philosophy, says Muenscher, was at first employed to evince the eternity of hell torments; but it led to a confutation of this doctrine, by advancing the principles that the justice of God, is merely his goodness directed by wisdom; and that the grand object of divine punishments,

It is only the arguments of the latter we have been able to examine; and it is sufficient to say, that they are similar to those which controversialists now use to disprove the doctrine of Universalism. The case of Judas is brought forward to show, if this doctrine be true, it were good for him to have been born, which the Saviour seemed to deny; and it is maintained that the doctrine of endless punishment, is a more powerful barrier against crime, and more favorable to repentance.[1]

So much for the History of Universalism in Germany, and much more might be said. The seed thus sown has taken root, nor can the precious plant ever be destroyed. Its branches may be lopped off; it may bend beneath the storm; it may be scared by the bolts of human wrath; but the root, secured as with a band of iron and brass, in a genial soil, wet with the dew of heaven, will live and send forth branches anew, to bear the fruit of the spirit, love, joy and peace.[2]

is the reformation of offenders. And hence, J. H. Eberhard, B. Bassedow and J. F. Gruner, held forth the reformation and salvation of the damned; others have either left the question wholly undecided, or have referred the eternity mentioned in the Scriptures, only to the place of punishment; or have stopped at the never ending disadvantages, which the neglect of repentance in the present life, will bring along with it in the life to come." See Muenscher's Elements of Dogmatic History. Translated by Murdock, New Haven, 1830, p. 202.

[1] Histoire des Sectes Religieuses, par M. Gregoire. T. i. 74—78.

[2] Since this paragraph at first was written, a very happy confirmation of the opinion here expressed, and a highly satisfactory testimony to the great unanimity with which the doctrine of endless punishment is rejected by all classes of Protestants in Germany, appeared in "Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany," published in New York, 1829. The unexceptionable nature of this authority, will give the following paragraph strong claims to the attention of an enlightened Christian community.

"The doctrine of the eternity of future punishment is almost universally rejected. I have seen but one person in Germany who believed it, and but one other whose mind was wavering on this subject. Many of them acknowledge that the New Testament seems to inculcate this doctrine; but they find it, as they say, so irreconcilable with our ideas of the infinitely benevolent Being, whom God has revealed himself to be, that if they believed in his perfections, they must reject the doctrine. Some contend that it is not even apparently announced. To those texts which are generally believed with us to involve it, they give a different explanation in their interpretation; finding, as they believe, philological difficulties in

OLSHAUSEN, THOLUCK.

XXII. Speaking of the Universal Restitution, Olshausen says, "The feeling against the doctrine of the eternity of the punishment of the wicked, which shows itself among the defenders of a restoration of all things, and they have been found at all times, and are at the present time, more than at any former period, though it may often have its foundation in a vitiated social state, yet has no doubt a deep root in noble minds, and is the expression of a heart-felt desire for a perfect harmony of the creation.[1]

Beautiful concession. Tholuck, at one time, seemed to have nearly the same idea. The first the American public heard of Tholuck, was by the agency of Professor Sears, then of the Theological Institution in Newton, Mass.; and the annunciation of the fact that the German professor was a believer in the great doctrine of the restitution of all things, surprised few persons, after what we had heard of Doederlein, Olshausen and others, and especially the state-

the way. Some few would meet the arguments of those who believe it, by asserting that the oldest manuscript of the New Testament, is of the sixth century; and that, during the Arian and other controversies which agitated the church from the age of the Apostles until that time, there is not only a possibility, but a probability, that some errors have made their way into the text. Others affirm, as one of the Orthodox professors who is considered to be eminent for his piety, told me, respecting himself, that this doctrine evidently appears in the New Testament, but that his heart could not receive it, unless he were to change his views of the character of God. That we now enjoy but a single ray of Revelation in comparison with the light which will burst upon our view in the future world; and that when we come to behold the glory of God, as it will be revealed to us, he believed that this apparent difficulty in his moral government would be explained." p. 421.

The Boston *Recorder* (of January 5, 1831), stated, that Doederlein, believes in a final restoration, after ages and ages of suffering.

The truth is this, said the same writer in the "Recorder," "Universalists in Germany have not organized themselves, to any considerable extent, into a distinct class, as they have done in this country. Some who are Orthodox in their views of the *doctrines of grace*, believe in the doctrine of final restoration, and are in fact Universalists of the Chauncey stamp. In this class we doubt not there are some men of most respectable attainments and exemplary piety; the name of Doederlein alone is sufficient warrant for saying this." The *Recorder* has been for a long series of years one of the leading Calvinistic journals in New England.

[1] Commentary on Matt. xii. 31, 32, translated by Kenrick, from the fourth German edition, New York, Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., A. D., 1856, vol. i. pp. 459, 460.

ment of our American Evangelical divine, Mr. Dwight, already given.

Professor Sears, of the Baptist Church in New England, speaks very decisively, on the point that Tholuck was understood to believe in the restitution of all things. "Though as a theologian, Dr. Tholuck is on the side of Orthodoxy, it must be remembered that it is the Orthodoxy of Germany. I feel the more called on to state frankly what I know to be the truth, from the fact that the works of several German critics, of whom he is the safest, have now become so popular in England and America as to demand a translation. This distinguished and excellent man, in common with the great majority of the evangelical divines in Germany, though he professes to have serious doubts, and is cautious in avowing the sentiment, believes that all men and fallen spirits will finally be saved. The current hypothesis (meaning in Germany) is that in the middle state, intervening between death and the resurrection, the righteous will gradually attain to perfection; and that to all the wicked, whether men or angels, the gospel will be preached, and that they will ultimately accept it and be restored.[1]"

Professor Sears afterwards gave the subject of a conversation which he had with Tholuck as follows:

"One evening, at his house, there was a debate between us on the subject, in the presence of two American gentlemen, now in this country. It made such a painful impression on the mind of the writer, that he can remember not only the ideas, but many of the identical words and phrases employed at that time. The following is the substance of that conversation, which was held in English: — *Tholuck:* I suppose that my American brethren would consider me orthodox in general, except in my Universalism. — *Sears:* They would, most certainly. But with them that one point would be a

[1] This announcement was made by Professor Sears, A. D. 1834. We refer those who wish to look more fully into this subject, to an article entitled, "Professor Tholuck and Universalism," from the pen of Rev. T. J. Sawyer, in the Expositor and Universalist Review, vol. iii. New series, edited by Rev. Hosea Ballou 2d., Boston. Published by G. W. Bazin & A. Tompkins, 1839.

serious matter. With this sentiment you could not hold a standing in our Orthodox churches. Now, where did you find this doctrine, —in the Bible, or in your philosophy?—*Tholuck:* In both.—*Sears:* What are the passages of Scripture on which you principally rely? —*Tholuck:* My main passage is 1 Cor. xv. 28. Christ shall overcome all, and bring them in complete subjection to God, who to all men will be their all, their everything. Such language cannot well be applied to those who shall still remain his enemies. Also Rom. xi. 36. For out of him, and through him, and into him, are all things; i. e. all things proceed out of him as their source of being; by him they are conducted to their proper destination; and into him they all return, as their eternal resting place. It follows, of course, that they will all be happy; for happiness consists in being *in* God. Another passage is, 'Every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess,' &c. (Philip. ii. 9–11.)—*Sears:* Do you find no passages of Scripture which positively declare the everlasting punishment of the wicked? *Tholuck:* Yes. Matt. xxv. 46, and others like it.—*Sears:* Can those passages, which you think favor Universalism, be understood in any other sense without violating the fundamental laws of interpretation?—*Tholuck:* Yes, they *can*, but the construction would not be so easy and natural.—*Sears:* Can the other passages, which speak of endless punishment, *possibly* bear any other construction? *Tholuck:* I do not see how they can.—*Sears:* Well, what are you going to do with them?—*Tholuck:* This is my only difficulty. These two classes of texts seem to me contradictory; I cannot reconcile them. But when I reflect upon the character of God, as a Being of *love*, I lose all my doubts. Those passages are dark, but here all is light. Man has not utterly lost God's image; there is something holy in him still,—the flaming eye of God, the conscience; and, wherever there is this foretold, God will gain the heart at last.[1]

It is with an unfavorable opinion of leading theologians, we are obliged to confess, that probably, by the influence of the American Orthodox divines, Tholuck was induced to disavow his belief in the doctrine of the restitution of all things. A very serious and earnest correspondence, it is thought, was begun with him, and this added, to the discussions which took place in the Orthodox journals of America, led him to take a different position from that which he had occupied, and to give up his hope in the final happiness of all men, or at least, to profess to do so.

"Let me tell you now, dear sir, concerning the point in question, that I must confess that a good number of our German evangelical theologians cherish the hope of a final conversion of all men; though there will be, I dare say, but few who allow themselves more

[1] Expositor and Universalist Review, vol. 3, pp. 332, 333.

than a hope, and who would venture positively to say, that such a final restoration will take place. As to myself, I have long been strong in this respect. At the time when Professor Sears was in Havre, I also expressed this hope, though I confessed at the time, that I did not know how to reconcile it with the clear passages in Scripture, which made me reluctant even at that time, to embrace that opinion as an unquestionable truth. If I remember right, my expressions at the time were these;—dogmatically, (i. e. as a theologian,) I feel myself drawn towards this opinion; but exegetically, (i. e. as an interpreter,) I do not know how to justify it. Mature reflection, however, on the doctrine of the sin against the Holy Ghost has made me since *abandon the idea of the final restoration of all men;* for what Christ says concerning it, seems too clearly to imply a degree of opposition against holy truth, which leads to eternal unhappiness." [1]

OTHER EMINENT THEOLOGIANS.

DOEDERLEIN, GIESELER, NEANDER.

XXIII. Doederlein, evangelical Christian as he was, says many things in favor of the doctrine of the final holiness of all men. He took a large and liberal view of things. He surprised the learned world with the declaration, that *the more distinguished by learning any one in Christian antiquity was, so much the more did he foster and defend the hope of a final termination of torments.* [2]

Giesceler thinks that the doctrine of the final termination of evil, prevailed generally in the Christian church in ancient times, even outside of the labors of Origen, and in places where Origen had not great influence. The Germans seem always happy to bring out facts fairly, even though their admissions are unfavorable to popular dogmas.

Opposition to Origen was not always, or even generally,

1 This statement of his new views was first published in the Boston *Recorder*, in 1838. It is an extract of a letter from Professor Tholuck to Rev. Edward Meyer, dated Dec. 22, 1837, and was communicated to the *Recorder* by Rev. Dr. Sears.

2 Quanto quis altius eruditione in antiquitate Christiana eminuit, tanto magis spem finiendorum olim cruciatuum aluit atque defendit." J. Christoph Doederlein Institutio Theolog. Christiani. Noremberg et Altorfii, 1787, p. 199. Vol. ii.

based on or even connected with his doctrine of Universal Salvation. Gieseler says: "The belief in the inalienable capacity of improvement in all rational beings, and the limited duration of future punishment was so general, even in the West, and among the opponents of Origen, that, even if it may not be said to have arisen without the influence of Origen's school, it had become entirely independent of his system." [1]

Tholuck did not stand up with so much firmness against the doctrine of endless torture, as the authors we have just named. His American evangelical friends had too much influence over him. There is no place in the world where the doctrine of perpetual sufferings is held with more tenacity than among the so called evangelical sects of the United States. They feel that they need the doctrine as an agent to move the popular will, and to aid them in their schemes of proselytism. But it is our duty here to treat of the theologians of Germany. Dr. De Wette, in his Theodore, teaches the doctrine of the final happiness of all souls. "What we call good or evil, (says he), we call so only comparatively, not indicating an absolute distinction. However imperfect and evil a man's state may be, it is yet only a state of transition, which must lead to good. God will guide all to good, if not in this world, in the other."

But, replied Walter, "he who disbelieves shall be damned everlastingly. Do you deny everlasting punishment?" Schiller might sing, "the dead shall rise to life and hell shall cease forever," but he sung of the gods of Greece.

Yet the sentiment was a truly Christian one, says De Wette. The punishment of the unbelieving is everlasting; that is, unlimited. Unbelief plunges us into a gulf, which is of immeasurable depth to the human eye, but not

[1] "A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, by Dr. John C. L. Gieseler. Translated from the German by Samuel Davidson, LL. D. New York, Harper & Brothers." 1849, pp. 320, 321.

to that of God, who will allow nothing in this world to be lost. To the obstinate and careless, this gulf is shown in order that he may shrink back from it. But far be it from us to judge presumptuously those thus blinded, and to declare them to be shut out for ever from God.[1]

[1] "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature, edited by George Ripley, vol. xi, containing Theodore, or the Sceptic's Conversion, from the German of De Wette. Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1841." The translator goes on to say, concerning the doctrine of the Ultimate Restoration:

"From various accounts which have been published in our American journals, it is understood that many of the most conspicuous among the orthodox teachers in Germany incline to the doctrine of an ultimate restoration. This view is chiefly held by those who take the strongest Calvinistic views of the divine decrees. Among these theologians, (whom St. Augustine would call "Merciful Doctors,") are Tholuck, Hahn, Olshausen, and Schleiermacher. The latter theologian, in defending the Calvinistic doctrine against the objection drawn from the mercy of God, thus speaks (*Theol. Zeitscrift, Estes Heft*):

"This objection goes rather against the fact of damnation, than the mode of its causality, as ascribed to God or man. As soon as this objection is urged, those who deny, no less than those who admit, the doctrine of decrees must choose between two resources. They must either admit the infinite and eternal nature of the punishments of hell, and with this assert the incomprehensibility of the divine plans, or they must escape from all the apparent conflict between the divine justice and love, by admitting an ultimate restoration and final universal reconciliation of all lost souls. According to this latter view, the difference between the dying believer and unbeliever is of a sooner or later admission into the kingdom of Christ; and such a difference is necessarily involved in every conceivable idea of a temporal world. As far as concerns myself, I should prefer the latter view, not only because I should be more easily reconciled to the death of unbelievers, but also for the sake of those who have become the subjects of grace here, and all the redeemed, whose joy must be clouded by the thought of any one being forever excluded from salvation. For could they be partakers of Christian blessedness if they should lose their sympathy for all who belong to their race? This view appears to me also to be as well supported by the Scriptures as the other, (which I cannot stop to prove here in detail,) and to be, besides, the only one which can be brought to any degree of clearness. The more closely that we investigate the opposite view, the more do difficulties accumulate. The understanding cannot find rest but in this opinion, when we regard men's original differences with their dependence on divine grace, when we compare the infinite power of redemption with the resistance which man is able to oppose to it, and, finally, when we consider the misery of unbelievers, and recollect that the word of grace still remains fastened in their memory."

With this view De Wette also agrees, (*Theolog. Zeitscrift, Zweites Heft, S.* 120,) remarking that the "doctrine of eternal damnation cannot in any wise be retained, if we take the word *eternal* in a strict and absolute sense. For whatever is eternally damned, must have been created in a state of damnation, for eternity has no beginning."

Hahn, (*Christlichen Glaubens*, § 143,) in contending for the salvation of the heathen, uses the following arguments: 1. The justice and goodness of God, who would only condemn those who have had sufficient

Neander, speaks cautiously and yet with much hope of the final restitution of all things. In his work on the "Planting and Training of the Church," he quotes Paul's language:

["That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth: and things under the earth: and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."] This he thinks may indeed be supposed to mean, that all rational beings are to be subjected to the Redeemer as their Lord, although this will not be accomplished with respect to all in the same manner; in some there may be a subjectively internal free obedience, in others only what is outward and compulsory, the obedience of impotence, which can effect nothing against the kingdom of Christ. The question arises, whether in the word 'bow the knee in the name of Christ, and confess that he is Lord to the glory of God,' something more is meant than a description of such forced outward obedience, if we understand these words according to the Pauline phraseology. The doctrine of such a universal restitution, would not stand in contradiction to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as it appears in the Gospels; for although those who are hardened in wickedness, left to the consequences of their conduct, their merited fate, have to expect endless unhappiness, yet a secret decree of the divine compassion is not necessarily excluded, by virtue of which, through the wisdom of God revealing itself in the discipline of free agents, they will be led to a free appropriation of redemption.

means to know the truth here, &c. 2. The declaration of Jesus, that there is only one kind of sin which cannot be forgiven either in this or in the future world — the sin against the Holy Ghost; his intimation that the sinner may possibly, though with difficulty, pay the entire debt, Matt. 5: 26; and his sayings concerning the men of Sodom and Gomorrah, Matt. 10, 15. 3. With this coincide the words of Christ to the crucified malefactor, and what Peter says of the exercise by Christ of his power to redeam spirits after his death, 1 Peter iii: 18. "Thus can and will that be fulfilled which is written, Philip. ii: 10, &c., that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, in heaven, on earth, and under the earth, and the kingdom of God be at last made perfect."

We do not intend to argue here either for or against the doctrine of a final restoration, but only mention as a remarkable fact that so many eminent men among the German Supernaturalists should have come to this conviction. We are sorry to say that an American theologian, in translating the essay of Schleiermacher from which the above extract is taken, thought fit to omit this passage. It should seem that, while he was willing to have his readers see that the authority of Schleiermacher was on the side of the doctrine of election, he was not willing that they should understand that he believed it in connection with the doctrine of a final and universal restoration. He informed them that Schleiermacher believed that the salvation of men is determined by the decree of God; he did *not* inform them that he also believed that God had decreed the final salvation of *all*. See Specimens of foreign Literature, before referred to.

The passage in Coloss. i. 20, ['And, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven,'] we shall interpret in the simplest and most natural manner, if we can admit such a reference to the reconciling and redeeming work of Christ on the fallen spiritual world. And we can then combine in one view the three passages, (1 Cor. xv. 27, 28; Phil. ii. 10, 11; Coll. i. 20,) and interpret them by a mutual comparison. A magnificent prospect is thus presented of the final triumph of the work of redemption, which was first opened in the mind of the great apostle in the last stage of his Christian development, by means of that love which impelled him to sacrifice himself for the salvation of mankind. At all events, we find here only some slight intimations, and we acknowledge the guidance of divine wisdom, that in the records of revelation destined for such various steps of religious development, no more light has been communicated on this subject."[1]

But it is too much to expect us to name every theologian in Germany, who has entertained the great hope of the final holiness and happiness of all men. We see the opinion of Dwight, [a leading American evangelical divine, travelling in Germany, whose relations and wishes would have withheld him, if possible, from making the avowal,] announced in 1829, that "the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment is almost universally rejected. I have seen but one person in Germany who believed it, and but one other whose mind was wavering on this subject. Many of them acknowledge that the New Testament seems to inculcate this doctrine; but they find it, as they say, so irreconcilable with our ideas of the infinitely benevolent Being, whom God has revealed himself to be, that if they believed in his perfections, they must reject the doctrine."[2]

[1] "History of the Planting and Training of the Christian church, by the Apostles; by Dr. Augustus Neander, ordinary professor of theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Counsellor, &c., translated by Ryland. Edinburg: Thos. Clark." Vol. ii. pp. 211, 212.

[2] Mr. Dwight then goes on to speak of the moral influence of this doctrine upon those who believed it, and shows that they were imbued with a spirit of Christian love, and filled with heavenly aspiration. He employs the following language:

"So far as an opinion can be formed of them from their reputation, and from their conversation, we must look in vain for brighter examples of piety than they exhibit. They certainly manifest a greater spirit of love for those who differ from them than is found in most of our sects, and they feel very unwilling to shut the gates of heaven against those who do not believe every article of their creed. In this charity and love, the Christians of most Protestant countries would do well to imitate them," p 423.

This was strengthened by Tholuck's first concessions. We find that, saying nothing of the Rationalists, many of the most eminent evangelical theologians of Germany, such as De Wette, Hahn, Schleiermacher, Bokshammer, Doederlein, Olshausen, Geiseler, Neander, and many others, have inclined to Universalism. The state of religious doctrines in Germany is very different from what it is in the United States. The preaching of our American evangelical divines would scarcely be tolerated in that country, even if our language would permit them to address the German congregations. The evangelical Christians in the two countries are wide apart. Their habits of thinking and of the interpretation of the Scriptures are very different. In theology, the German scholars stand pre-eminent. Their system of education is very thorough. Germany gives us the proof, that the more men know about the Bible, the less will they believe of the cruel doctrines of the church.

The influence of the German theologians is extending, and it is impossible to shut out the belief from our minds, that their religious opinions will swell wider and wider, until, not only in Europe, but in America, they will give form and life to the doctrines of the church.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER II.

UNIVERSALISM IN HOLLAND.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

I. As was hinted in a former chapter, the doctrine of the Restitution was early embraced and defended by the Anabaptists of the Low Countries. How far their influence extended, or how ardently in later times, they have professed their faith in this doctrine, we have no means of knowing. Their descendants in America promulgated it; which may be regarded, at least, as presumptive evidence, that until they emigrated to this country, it was one of the principal tenets of the sect to which they belonged.

EPISCOPIUS AND LE CLERC.

II. But in pursuing the History of Universalism, we turn from this class of Christians, renowned for their apostolical simplicity, to survey the characters and sentiments of men of learning and pre-eminence.

Simon Episcopius may justly be placed in the class of those authors, who find themselves in great doubt and uncertainty concerning the eternity of punishment; but who, instead of striking out into the broad path of Universalism, have contented themselves with some melioration of the condition of the wicked, which might not in reality

amount to their perfect salvation. After a long and critical investigation of the subject, Episcopius arrived at the conclusion, that punishment will be eternal in no positive sense. Actual punishment, being proportioned to the finite offences of the creature, cannot be eternal; but the loss of the heavenly felicity, and an entire hopelessness of obtaining it will be eternal, and will be a just infliction for slighting the grace of God On the death of Maurice, in 1584, who was the great enemy of the Arminians, they experienced justice and clemency.

On their return to their native country, they erected churches in the principal places; but the chief object of their concern was the institution of a public seminary of learning for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles. Hence they founded a college at Amsterdam, and Episcopius enjoyed the honor of being their first professor of theology. He survived this appointment only about ten years, and died 4th April, 1643.[1] The grief of his friends at his death was indescribable. He was a man of great learning and commanding powers of eloquence; and he enjoyed the esteem of many learned men, among whom, to his high honor, Grotius may be reckoned.

The sentiment of Episcopius concerning punishment, differed from that of the Arminians generally in the following respect: they, in renouncing Calvinism, did not mitigate the condition of the sinner after he was condemned; but simply relieved him from that decree, whereby, without any foresight of his evil deeds, he was ordained absolutely to eternal destruction; but Episcopius with benevolence not only relieved the sinner from the cruel effect of the decree of reprobation, but denied the eternity of his *positive* punishment, and made it eternal in no sense, except as it was a *loss* of everlasting life. What condition

[1] Mosheim's Eccle. History Cen. xvii. part ii. chap. iii. 6, 7, 9, 10.

he assigned the damned after the termination of their actual sufferings, it is difficult to say. He does not maintain their annihilation; and we think the result of his system was, to leave them in a *middle* condition between absolute damnation and beatific bliss.[1]

[1] To those who desire more fully to investigate the sentiments of Episcopius, I recommend an examination of his works, which have been published, in two volumes folio, particularly his Responsio ad Quæstiones Theologicas lxiv. In the sixty second question and reply may be found his views on the subject of punishment, summed up in the following manner.

I. That there is to be a punishment inflicted on the impious and wicked after this life, the principle of divine justice dictates: 2 Thess i. 6, whence is evinced that the impious are to suffer judgment after death, the scripture every where testifying thereunto, Matt. xxv. 41, &c., &c.

II. That this punishment is to be proportioned to the quantity and quality of the offences and wickedness, the principle of divine justice also requires. And that the quantity and quality of wickedness, should be estimated according to the quantity and quality of the *corresponding grace*, the same justice demands, and the principle of justice renders evident in itself.

III. The Scriptures pronounce this punishment to be eternal, Matt. xxv. last verse, &c., &c. Nor does the principle of justice disagree, so far as relates to the penalty of damnation, or annihilation. This is evident in itself. As it regards a sensible punishment, I say,

IV. That it is not repugnant to justice, if it consists in the mere and sensible perpetual privation of that eternal good which the contemners of eternal life despised, joined with an eternal hopelessness of enjoying it, without any other suffering which might be connected with it. If you say that the Scriptures have moreover added a most intense suffering from the burning of eternal fire, then I say,

V. That very intense suffering cannot and ought not to be otherwise understood, than as it is commensurate to the greatness of the transgressions. For one suffering is necessarily greater than another, as the sins are not equal. If you say eternal suffering cannot be rendered commensurate with temporal transgressions, then I say,

VI. That suffering from the burning of fire may be called eternal in three respects. 1. Inasmuch as that fire always burns most intensely, and this burning will be connected with a most intense suffering. 2. Inasmuch as fire will burn and produce suffering until it shall be consumed; in which sense the fire by which Sodom and Gomorrah were burnt, is called eternal, Jude 7th verse, and every where in the Prophets that fire which burns as long as it can, and has any fuel, is called inextinguishable. 3. Inasmuch as, that fire being extinct, the consciousness of wickedness and of crimes will burn the criminals, and an eternal hopelessness of obtaining joy, will follow.

But how God is to inflict this sensible punishment, or this eternal suffering, is to be left to him. For it suffices to say, that God the most just and wise Judge, will punish none without their deserving it, nor beyond their merits. In determining the kind of eternity, let every one enjoy his own opinion. M. Simonis Episcopii Responsio ad Questiones Theologicas lxiv. ipsi a Discipulis in privato disputationum Collegio, Amstelodami propositas. Archbishop King puts down Episcopius as one who seems to oppose eternal punishment.

III. It is a pleasing task to introduce in connection with Episcopius, one who was possessed of a congenial faith, and a congenial spirit; the learned and well known John Le Clerc. His father was a physician of eminence, and Greek professor at Geneva; and paid the strictest attention to the education of his son, whose natural genius aided the parent's endeavors, and who, preferring the study of divinity, was admitted early into orders. Soon he embraced the principles of the Arminians; and a residence of some considerable time at Saumur, where the views of the *hypothetical* Universalists[1] had been zealously defended, had a tendency to confirm him in his opposition to the tenets of the Calvinists. After visiting England, where he received highly flattering attention from learned persons, he formed the determination not to reside at Geneva, but settled at Amsterdam, where he was at first a popular preacher, and afterwards professor in the college of the Arminians.

He was well acquainted with the writings of Episcopius; and in one of his works[2] he recommends attention to what his predecessor had advanced on the subject of future rewards and punishment. He had essentially weakened the foundation of endless misery by maintaining that there is no term in the Hebrew language which expresses of itself eternal duration, and that Holam, and the other words rendered everlasting, signify a concealed and unknown ex-

[1] The *hypothetical* Universalists were a class of men who taught a kind of middle doctrine between the systems of Calvin and Arminius. They were denominated hypothetical Universalists, because they maintained that God is willing to show mercy to all mankind, and because they held that faith in Christ is a necessary condition to render them the objects of the divine mercy. These doctrines prevailed in France, particularly in Saumur, where men of great learning and influence defended them, and they were afterwards embraced at most of the Protestant Universities. There is no essential difference between the sentiments of the hypothetical Universalists, and those of the Arminians of the present day. See Nicholson's Encyclopedia, art. *Universalists.* Mosheim's Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. part ii. chap. ii. 14.

[2] Hist. Eccl. Duorum Primorum a Christo nato Sæculorum. Prolegomena. Sec iii. Chap. iv. § viii. num. 4.

tent of time, either in reference to the commencement or termination of the thing to which they are applied.[1] Speaking of the doctrine of future retribution, he says, "it is enough that Christ's judgment will be conducted on definite and well-known laws, so that its justice shall be seen by all. For the great diversity of crimes there will be a proportional variety of punishments, whatever they consist in; and the same will be the case with rewards, there being no less a difference in the merits than in the crimes of individuals. But if the eternal duration of either appear to any one repugnant to the divine goodness and justice, he should seek to solve the difficulty by means of the different degrees in punishments and rewards. If after all, eternal punishments inflicted on finite creatures for finite sins, should be judged incapable of being reconciled with the Divine Justice, it would not thence follow that we must doubt the truth of the gospel, or call the Divine Justice in question, because they appear repugnant to right reason. It would be better, if absolutely necessary, to resort to this solution: *that on account of human depravity, God may be said to have threatened more than he will execute, as he can by his own sovereign authority, remit punishments to mankind; or else that* ETERNITY *may be considered an indefinite duration, to which God had placed no limits known to us, the word sometimes signifying an* AGE."[2]

IV. We may, perhaps, include among the Dutch Universalists, the learned and ingenious Samuel Crellius. He was born in March, 1660, pursued the studies of his youth in the academy of the Arminians at Amsterdam: Went to Berlin in 1680, and, after spending some time there, pro-

[1] Ars Critica, &c. See art. on Hell in Rees' Cyclopedia. The definition Parkhurst gives the word will not be found to differ materially from this.

[2] Hist. Eccles. Duorum Primorum, as quoted before. Le Clerc was a great admirer of Tillotson's famous sermon, and defended it in the Bibliotheque Choise.

ceeded to Prussia, whence he departed for Koenigswald, near Frankfort, on the Oder, where he lived many years, discharging the functions of the Christian ministry among the Unitarians. While here he was elected an elder at the Synod of Selchovia, and made frequent journies to Frankfort and Berlin. In 1697, he went to Holland, thence to England, and while in London, published, in reply to Bull's defence of the Nicene Faith, his view of the opinions of the primitive Christians, proved from Barnabas, Hermas, and Clemens Romanus. Thence, it is thought, he returned to Holland, and published his Compendium of New Thoughts concerning the First and Second Adam. He then went back to Germany, visited again Berlin, and was courteously received by Ancillonius. He afterwards took up a second residence of some years at Koenigswald, sustaining the office of a minister to the Anti-trinitarians of the March and of Silesia, making frequent visits to Berlin. Here he contracted a friendship with several learned men, particularly with La Croze, with whom he freely corresponded between the years 1710 and 1725. About the end of the year 1725 he took another journey to England, where he published his work on the Introduction of John's Gospel, and, in April, 1727, returned to Holland. He closed his valuable life at Amsterdam, in 1747, aged 87.[1]

Crellius made the principal figure among the Socinians of his time, although he differed from them in some points

[1] FRANCIS PUCCIUS.

Some have asserted that Francis Puccius was a believer in the final happiness of all men. The Abbe Gregoire says, "L' erreur des Universalistes qu' on a nommes quelquefois, *docteurs de missericorde* n' est pas nouvelle. Censuree, autrefois dans Origene, dans Rethorius, elle fut reproduite en 1592, par une des hommes les plus versatiles en fait de religion; Puccius, dans un ouvrage famenx qu 'il dedia an pape Clement viii. See "De Christi Servatoris efficacitate in omnibus et singulis." One might conclude from these things that Puccius was a Universalist: but there is no sufficient proof of that fact. He extended the sacrifice of Christ more widely and made it more efficacious than many in his time, but we have no evidence that he distinctly avowed his faith in the final happiness of all men. The quotation from the Abbe Gregoire may be found in the "Histoire des Sectes Religieuses," Tome Premier, pp. 78, 79.

of his faith. Stoschius, in his history of the eighteenth century, says, "I remember that Crellius, whom I visited at Amsterdam in 1742, and with whom I had much conversation on many heads of the Christian doctrine, declared with some emotion, that he did not follow the opinions of Socinus, but cordially believed in the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ, as it was taught by the Remonstrants, and *was persuaded that all men will be finally saved by Jesus Christ, and delivered from the torments of Hell.*"[1]

[1] This account of Crellius has been principally collected from a Memoir of him, translated from Fred. Samuel Bock's Historia Anti-trinitariorum, Tom. i. pars i. See also Mosheim's Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. part ii. chap. vi. 5 note in loc. and Cen. xviii. 27.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN SWITZERLAND.

THE GENEVAN PASTORS.

I. Among the traces of Universalism which we find in Switzerland, our attention is principally called to a body of highly respectable divines of Geneva, who lived about the middle of the eighteenth century, to whom a belief in the doctrine of a future *limited* punishment, in contradistinction from that which is eternal, has been imputed. This city was the seat of Calvin's influence and doctrines, and the place where the unfortunate Servetus suffered an unjust and ignominious death, for opposing the dogma of the Trinity. As early as 1750 the pastors of whom we have spoken were charged with holding the sentiments we have attributed to them, by the authors of the celebrated French Encyclopedia, among whom D'Alembert and Diderot may be reckoned; and it is asserted that the Genevan pastors had entertained these views for thirty years, which — if correct, shows them to have been a kind of cautious Universalists, almost from the commencement of the 18th century. Here follows a translation of a part of the article from the Encyclopedia.[1] "Hell, which is one of the

[1] See Encyclopedie, par une Societie de gens de lettres art. *Geneve*. See also Milner's End of Controversy, p. 269.

principal articles of our creed, has ceased to be so in that of many of the ministers of Geneva. According to them, it would be unjust in the Deity, so full of goodness and mercy, to suppose that he is capable of punishing our sins with an eternity of torment. They explain with as little awkwardness as they may, the positive declarations of Scripture which are opposed to their doctrine, alleging that nothing should be taken literally which is at variance with humanity and reason. They believe in the existence of future punishments, but of limited duration. So that Purgatory, one of the principal causes of the separation of the Protestants from the Romish Church, is now the only state of suffering after death which many of them admit — a curious fact to be added to the history of the contradictions of mankind." In addition to this, the authors of the Encyclopedia charged them with Socinianism, and with approaching closely to Deism.

These imputations had not been long before the public, when the clergy implicated came out with their "solemn protest against the imputation of Socinianism," in which they deny the charges brought against them. It is proper, however, to examine this document with discrimination. The pastors and professors say, "on several subjects opinions are attributed to *many of us* which we do not hold, and others are misrepresented." This is a tacit acknowledgment that some of them, at least, did hold the opinions in question. Again, they say, "Christian charity keeps us at the widest possible distance from persecution, and enables us to bear without uneasiness *some diversity* of opinion on points which are not essential." Here is an acknowledgment that there was a difference of opinion among them on some points. The charge of Deism made in the Encyclopedia was totally unreasonable and unfounded; and as it was one of the charges made by the Catholics against the Protestants, so it has been reiterated by so called evangelical Protestants against those who have ventured to

depart from their standards of faith. The principal object of the Genevan clergy was to defend themselves against this charge. That they were Anti-Calvinists and Anti-Trinitarians will not be denied, nor did they deny that they believed in a limited future punishment. Their reply, on this point, is precisely the same that a New England Unitarian of the present day would give to the same charge: "Our morality is the morality of the gospel, always connected with its doctrines, and deriving thence its strongest sanctions, especially from the promises of eternal life and felicity which it makes to those who reform their conduct, and the threat of eternal condemnation which it denounces against the impious and impenitent. In this respect, as in every other, we think it our duty to keep close to the *language of Scripture*, which speaks not of purgatory, but of heaven and hell, *where every one shall receive according to the deeds done in this life.*" No one can call this a denial of the charge of universal restitution. The Genevan pastors used the word everlasting, not because they believed in the endless duration of punishment, but because it occurs in the Scriptures; and they surely meant that they used it in the Scriptural sense; believing in no punishment which was not "according to the deeds done in this life." D'Alembert, in defence of the article in the Encyclopedia, says, "If the ministers of Geneva have protested against the article in question, it is evident they have done so as a matter of form, and that they do not wish to make the Confession of Faith pass for any thing else than what it really is. They will continue to speak and think, in public and in private, just as they did before this Confession was made. *This is attested by all the well informed Frenchmen who have been at Geneva since that time.* We may further observe," continues D'Alembert, "that if the Church of Geneva has, for the present, some reproaches to fear from the other Protestant Churches, they will be only temporary, and that at a period which is probably not very remote, it will have the satisfac

tion according to the prediction of Bossuet, to see all these churches united with it in the same belief." [1]

The sentiments of the Genevans became changed, if we may hazard a conjecture, by means of their association with the influx of strangers, whom the beauty of the city and its surrounding scenery, the salubriousness of the air, and the renown of its literary institutions, drew among them. From all quarters, particularly from France and Holland, the youth, and such in a special manner, as were pursuing a theological education, resorted to Geneva, whose academy then stood in the highest repute among the reformed churches. But its lustre and authority began to decline, from the time that Universities were founded at Leyden, Franeker, and Utrecht.[2]

MARIE HUBER.

II. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the doctrine of Universalism found an able advocate in the authoress of "Lettres sur la religion essentielle a l' homme." She was a woman of learning, maturity of intellect, vivacity of style, liberality of heart, a hater of error and priestcraft, and a lover of all mankind. We refer to Marie Huber. She was born in Geneva, about 1695, and died in Lyons in 1753, and at her death must have been about sixty years of age. She wrote an abridgment of the Spectator, Letters on the Religion essential to man; the System of the Ancient and Modern Theologians on the state of the Soul after death. Being a Protestant, some of her works were violently attacked by the Catholic divines. [3]

[1] Monthly Repository, vol. xiii. pp. 22—27. Melanges D'Alembert, iii. 465.

[2] Mosheim's Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. part ii. chap. ii. 10.

[3] We have not learned that this woman was in any way connected with Samuel Huber, of Wittenburg, (Book v. chapter i. p. 245.) Dr. Meunscher speaks of her (Elements of Dogmatical Theology, translated by Murdock. New Haven, 1830, pp. 202, 203.) In our first edition of this history, we attributed the works of Miss Huber to a writer by the name of

III. Jacob Vernes was born at Languedoc, and became a minister of a church in Geneva, where he died in 1788, aged sixty. He published a catechism, in which he denied the doctrine of original sin, the Trinity, and the incarnation, and taught that in regard to the doctrine of endless punishment, the Bible seemed to afford proof both for and against it.[1]

IV. Although the opinions of Charles Bonnet, on the point in question, are not certainly known, yet we derive so strong a conviction from his works that he believed in the eventual salvation of all men, we cannot omit a notice of him. He was a native of Geneva, and was held in the highest esteem in the literary world as a metaphysician, philosopher, and explorer of nature. His moral character was without blemish. In 1770 he published at Neufchatel

Muralt, an error into which we were led by the Abbe Gregoire, "*Histoire Sectes Religieuses.*" A literary friend on whom great dependence may be placed, has sent me the following facts:

The article in the Harleian Miscellany, entitled, "Natural and Revealed Religion, explaining each other," is

Translated, with great abridgement, from two anonymous French works, by Marie Huber; namely "Lettres sur la religion essentielle a l'homme," &c., published at Amsterdam, in 1738, and translated into English the same year; and "Le systeme des anciens et modernes, concilie par l'exposition des sentiments differents, de quelques theologiens, sur l'etat des ames separees des corps," published at "Londres" (Amsterdam?) in 1731. Of the latter, an English translation was published as an appendix to "The World Unmasked, or the Philosopher the Greatest Cheat," London, 1736, 8vo; second edition, 2 vols., London, 1743, 12mo. The World Unmasked is a translation of Marie Huber's, "Le monde fol prefere au monde sage," and published at Amsterdam in 1733 and 1744. Two editions of the work in French were printed before it was translated, and a second English edition appeared in London as early as 1743. The second volume, (the first not being on the subject of Universalism,) was reprinted in the United States, at Cooperstown, N. Y., under the superintendence of Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, in the year 1817.

The whole title is as follows: "The World Unmasked, or the Philosopher the greatest Cheat, in twenty-four Dialogues. To which is added a dissertation on the state of Souls, separated from their bodies, being an epistolary treatise, wherein it is proved, by a variety of arguments deduced from the Holy Scriptures, that the punishments of the wicked will not be endless, and all objections against it solved."

[1] Histoire des Sect. Relig. par M. Gregoire, T. ii. 201.

his "Philosophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Christianity." In this, his only theological work, he rather glances at the doctrine of universal happiness than defends it. In Book v. Chap. i. we have the following: "Since men continually and spontaneously expose themselves, for a momentary pleasure, to years of misery and pain, the threats denounced by this Religion, (Revealed Religion,) cannot be too forcible; and it will be suitable to the spirit of the whole system, to set forth the pains of the wicked as *eternal*, or rather of an *indefinite* duration. But in exhibiting to man this hideous gulf, the *doctrine* of *life* will, at the same time, magnify the compassion of the *merciful Father* of *man*, and point out, on the brink of the precipice, a gracious and benevolent hand, which, *if in the Supreme Being*, JUSTICE *be* GOODNESS *guided by wisdom;* if ALMIGHTY BENEVOLENCE *essentially require the improvement of* ALL *intelligent and sensitive beings;* if *punishments can be* the *natural means of leading* to *perfection;* if *they are, in the moral economy, what remedies are in the natural;* "*if there be more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth:*" "*if there be much love where much has been forgiven:*" *My heart leaps for joy—I am lost in admiration—what a wonderful chain of doctrines! The compassion of the* "ONLY GOOD" *is infinite — he desireth not the death of a sinner; but that he should turn from his wickedness and live*" — *He* DESIRETH! — *and shall* HE *desire in vain?*" Again, same Book, chap. vi. "In conformity to these views, so far excelling all human views, the *Messenger* of the *Most High*, was to be born of a Virgin, in an obscure family, but descended from illustrious ancestors, to whom the most magnificent promises had been made by ancient prediction. This birth was to be proclaimed to Shepherds; and the celestial heralds commissioned to celebrate by their hymns the glad tidings, were to instruct these Shepherds in the object and extent of the mission of Christ — on earth peace, good will towards men — GOOD WILL — not towards one single elected nation, but

towards *all the nations of the world.* GOOD WILL — not to one single generation ; but to every generation *past* and *to come ;* the Benevolence of the BEST and GREATEST of Beings *comprehends all mankind,* BECAUSE HE IS THE FATHER OF ALL."

V. Thus did Universalism find advocates in Switzerland. But it would swell this work far beyond the limits we have prescribed ourselves, to mention every instance in which the doctrine of eternal punishment was disputed. There is one case, however, we must not pass over. Ferdinand Oliver Petitpierre occupied too high a position as a defender of Universalism, and suffered too much on account of his belief in this doctrine, to be passed over with a very brief notice. He was minister of Chaux-de-Fonds, a village in Switzerland, in the Canton of Neufchatel, and nine miles N. N. W. from the capital, bearing the same name. In 1707, this Canton was acknowledged as belonging to the King of Prussia, under whose sovereignty it remained until 1807, when, by the treaty of Tilsit, it was ceded to France ; but in 1814 it was restored to Prussia.

Petitpierre must, we think, have been known as a Universalist as early as 1770. The ingenuousness of his disposition would not permit him to adopt that policy which induces many to conceal their sentiments ; and he avowed therefore, to his congregation and the public, his fixed belief in the eventual salvation of all mankind. Vengeance fell upon him. His church complained to the King of Prussia as Lord of the principality of Neufchatel,[1] and desired the removal of their hitherto highly respected pastor. The Consistory also adopted measures against him ; and at length the King, far from being convinced of the justice of the measure, but worn out by incessant importunity, deposed him ; and wrote the church, that since their articles

[1] Erskine's Sketches of Church Hist. i. 237. Erskine derived his information from German Literary Journals, 1776—1788.

of faith would have it so, he could not hinder the people of Neufchatel from being eternally damned.[1]

In 1786, Petitpierre published in French, at Hamburg, his principal Universalist work, entitled, "The plan of God with respect to man," more generally known in England and America under the title of "Thoughts on Divine Goodness."[2] Shortly after this he visited London, where he resided for many years, enjoying the friendship of all with whom he became acquainted; and no writer who has mentioned him, either for the purpose of approving or condemning his writings, has spoken of him but in terms of the highest respect.

The work of which we have spoken is one of the most pleasing defences of Universal Salvation which has ever been published. The author commences by maintaining, that to make mankind happy is the primary object of God's

[1] The Abbe Gregoire says, "concerning Petitpierre, the measure adopted by the Consistory of Neufchatel against him is well known, as well as the impious pleasantries of the King of Prussia on that subject." Histoire des Sect. Relig. ii. 57. The following extract from Williams' Tour in Switzerland, we think, shows that Petitpierre had the respect and patronage of the king. That divine was an ardent lover of Universalism, and defended the system at length in his work, *Le Plan de Dieu*, &c. Williams says:

"Since the celebrated controversy which arose between Petitpierre and his brethren, the clergy of Neufchatel, respecting the eternity of hell torments, in which opinion the former was supported by Frederick the Great, no contest respecting prerogative or privilege has taken place. The King, Petitpierre and Marshall Keith, with their doctrine of final salvation were, after long discussion, obliged to quit the field; the clergy maintained their privileges; and the king declared, that puisqu'ils avoient si fort a cœur d'etre damnes eternellement, (since they were so resolutely bent on being eternally damned,) he should no longer oppose their determination." Vol. ii. 148, 149.

The king probably had felt his sympathies powerfully moved in behalf of Petitpierre, whom he regarded as an injured man, and he interposed to save him from exclusion from his charge. A contest in regard to ecclesiastical privilege was thus brought on; but the bigotted clergy prevailed; and the king took leave of them with the sarcasm we have quoted above.

2 The original title of the work was as follows: "La Plan de Dieu envers les Hommes tel qu'il l'a manifeste dans la Nature et la Grace." Hamburg, 1786, 8vo.

There were several editions of Petitpierre in French. We recollect to have seen, in English, an octavo edition, by S. Hazard, Bath, England, 1788. Of American editions I have seen one at Walpole, N. H., by Thomas & Thomas, 1801; one at Montpelier, Vt., Geo. W. Hill, 1828.

moral government. His will is to save them, and the means by which he effects their salvation is by bringing them to the knowledge of the truth. He has revealed himself to the understanding of man, in nature and in revelation. These it is our duty to study, the latter with particular caution; without prejudice, and with a sincere desire to know what is truth. Here I solemnly protest," says the author, "in the presence of the Almighty, that in reading and meditating on his word, to know his will and designs towards us, I have with sincerity and in his fear, sought truth in its purity, with simplicity of heart, without hope or fear of its agreeing or disagreeing with that catechism which I was taught to receive in my youth, without sufficient examination; well convinced, that if such or such opinions were true, I should find them confirmed in Scripture; if false, they would not become true by my obstinately persisting to believe them without examination; so that I had nothing to lose, or rather I had every thing to gain, by bringing them sincerely to this test; since the only thing of importance to me was to fly from error, and to come at the knowledge of the truth."[1]

[1] The younger Rev. Mr. Coquerel said, (Paris, 1851,) "Some years later, a minister of Neufchatel, F. Petitpierre, an excellent man, a worthy pastor, and an eminent preacher, was led by the course of his studies and reflections, to discard the doctrine of eternal punishment. Influenced by a love of peace, excessive, no doubt, but which did not spring from any motive of fear or interest, Petitpierre resolved, at first, not to make his conviction public. He did not deny it, however, and was very soon suspected of doubting eternal damnation. A snare was spread to discover his opinion, without openly asking him; he fell into it; his heresy was revealed and regarded as a great scandal. When Petitpierre saw that there was no way of preserving in the church that peace which he desired, he spoke openly, with power and effect. He carried the doctrine of the Universal benevolence of God to his chair. He proclaimed his conviction boldly, and in every way. His colleagues, who, till then, had gradually manifested moderation and wisdom, yielded at last to the spirit of the time, and the dogmatic law which ruled their church, in pronouncing the deposition of the heretic. We must do them this justice, however, that they used milder means, at first, than their church organization permitted, such as admonitions and censures; but all these means were of no avail against the noble frankness and conscientious boldness of Petitpierre. His displacement, declared by ecclesiastical authority, must be presented for the approval of the king of Prussia, who was prince of Neufchatel.

VI. We must include in the number of the Swiss Universalists, the renowned and amiable, John Gasper Christian Lavater, known generally as the principal defender of the science of Physiognomy. His works on this subject have been translated into all the languages in Europe. As a scholar and divine he occupied the highest rank, filling his office as pastor of the church of St. Peter's, at Zurich, with the greatest honor to himself, and acquiring an imperishable fame by his eloquent discourses and exemplary life. He died in 1801, of a wound received from a French soldier, when Zurich was stormed by the troops under Massena.

The doctrine of Universalism was a sentiment which this eminent philanthropist embraced with all the native fervor of his heart. In one of his works, he breaks out in the following ardent expression of his views: "The Creator cannot hate his creature; and so long as the damned remain creatures, so long God is their Creator. God is love forever and ever. He is not gracious in time and cruel through eternity. He cannot say in time, "I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he repent and live;" and yet in eternity punish without aiming at their reformation. Ascribe not to God, what in a human judge

But the king was Frederic the Great, and he refused. After a time, however, and being assured that the dismissal was valid by law, Frederic II. consented to sign it, but in doing so, uttered the characteristic words, "Since the Neufchatel pastors desire to be eternally damned, let them be eternally damned." Many reflections might be indulged in regard to a church so organized, that a conscientious minister did not consider himself bound to make all his opinions known; while wise and moderate colleagues demanded his removal of an absolute monarch who granted it against his will Such remarks, however, would draw me too far from my subject, and they will doubtless suggest themselves to your countrymen.

Petitpierre does not seem to have had any disciples; the light shone but a short time, being smothered speedily under the official bushel. Even the books he published are so scarce, that it was impossible for me to procure any copies; there are none in Paris. They are entitled "*Apology* of M. Petitpierre for his system of no eternal punishment in the next life. 1761, 12mo. (*Apologie de M. Petitpierre sur son Systeme de non eternite des peines a venir.*) And the Plan of God in relation to man. Hamburg, 1786, 8vo. (*Le Plan de Dieu envers les hommes.*")

all would account a defect in wisdom and goodness, the punishing for the sake of punishing. It is enough, my Creator, thou art Love. Love seeketh not her own; thou seekest the happiness of all, and shouldst thou not then find what thou seekest? Shouldst thou not be able to do what thou willest?" [1]

"My prayers," said he, "were comprehensive. My family, my friends, my fellow-citizens, my enemies, all Christians, all men were included in them. I flew to the most distant seas. I penetrated into the deepest mines and dungeons. I embraced in my heart all that is called man; present and future times and nations; the dead, the damned, yea Satan himself: I presented them all to God, with the warmest wishes that he would have mercy on them all." [2]

[1] Erskine's Sketches of Church History.
[2] Adams' Religious World Displayed, iii. 381.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN FRANCE.

I. France has always been a Catholic country, and comparatively speaking, but small means for the introduction of Protestant sentiments have existed in that kingdom. We are not to expect, therefore, to find very frequent instances of the prevalence of Universalism. The following will show the traces we have discovered.

II. The earliest defender of Universalism in this country of whom we have read, was Thomas Cuppe. He was curate of Bois, in the diocese of Saintes,[1] and is said to have been an eminently learned, pious and dignified divine.[2] He wrote a work, which was published we believe after his death, entitled, "*Le Ceil ouvert a tous les Hommes,*" or "Heaven open to all men." From what we have been able to learn of the author, we perceive that he represented the work of salvation as going on without the assistance of human agency. He held to different degrees of bliss in the world to come; but rejected the notion of future punishment in every sense, except as it might consist in a diminution of reward; and maintained that we ought to be afraid of sin, because it deprives us of superabundant

[1] Histoire des Sect. Relig. T. i. p. 78, 79.
[2] Monthly Rep.

grace, and renders us liable to temporal punishments. The first edition of the work was printed as early as 1745.[1]

THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS.

III. Very mild doctrines in respect to future punishments have prevailed among some of the French Protestants. In the Confession of Faith of the Church at Nantes, speaking of the exclusiveness of the Roman Church, they say:

If eternal salvation were to be found only in the Church of Rome, it would follow that almost the whole human race must be necessarily doomed to eternal torment, since the majority of the inhabitants of the globe, so far from being of the papal fraternity, do not even know the name of Rome, or whether such a person as the Pope exists. And God would be strangely unjust, to burn thousands of millions of men whose only crime is not to have belonged to a church which it has been absolutely impossible for them to become acquainted with. America, for example, was not discovered till fourteen centuries after the death of Christ.

This extract, although decidedly of a liberal character, does not show conclusively the belief of the church in the final salvation of all men. Nevertheless, we find the confession of that doctrine in that section of the creed entitled Future Retribution.

FUTURE RETRIBUTION. God is the punisher of sin, and the rewarder of virtue.

But God is not, as is pretended, a jealous, angry, violent Being thirsting for vengeance.

He is a Father, whose benevolence is unlimited; he desireth not the death of the sinner; he will render to every one according to his works, proportioning the punishment to the offence; and he knows all the frailty, ignorance and wretchedness of our nature.

While we admit and assert a great difference of condition among souls after death, according to their moral conduct in this life, we are persuaded that they will all have the power of *being restored at*

[1] The first edition we believe appeared in 1743, at London. It was entitled, "Le Ceil ouvert a tous les hommes," ou Traite Theologique, par lequel, sans rien deranger des practiques de la religion, on prove solidement, par l' Ecriture Sainte and par la Raison, que tous les hommes, sont sauves. Par feu Mr Pierre Cuppe, Pretre-Bachelier en Theologie, Chanoine Regulier de Saint Augustin, Prieure-Cure de la Parrisse de Boin, Diocese de Santes. A Londres, 1783.

some future day, by successive trials; and that in process of time, the happiness of every creature will be the final result of God's plans, since we regard him as a Father, and never as a tyrant; a Being who, in creating us, has pledged himself to make us all happy.[1]

IV. James Necker, the great financier, and prime minister of France, was a Universalist. A native of Geneva, where he spent both the morning and the evening of his days, we are at a loss whether we ought not to have classed him among the Swiss defenders of the salvation of all men. He was a member of the council of two hundred at Geneva, was sent afterward as ambassador from the Republic to France, where he held the office of syndic to the East India Company; in 1775 was made director to the Royal Treasury, and was twice raised, though a foreigner, to the high station of first minister. All who knew him bear witness to his fidelity, his piety, and the respect he entertained for religion; and his virtues appear to shine with the greater splendor, when contrasted with the loose principles and immoral lives of many of his contemporaries. He stood up erect among them, dignified, Christian-like, waving back the tide of infidelity, — a true man in every respect. The strongest proof of the benevolence of his heart, is found in the striking abhorrence with which he regarded the doctrine of eternal punishment. He exclaimed, as with horror, "Eternal punishment! Power Almighty, can they who entertain such an idea know thee? Eternal fire for those miserable creatures who have to resist the seductions of error and the storms of the passions! Eternal fire for those miserable creatures who have so many combats to sustain, and are armed with such feeble weapons! Power Almighty, thy goodness preceded our

[1] A valuable article on Protestantism — Universalism, in France, may be found in the Universalist Quarterly, Vol. v. p. 165, from the pen of Rev. T. B. Thayer.

birth, it still subsists after we are cut off by the hand of death." [1]

V. A later French Universalist bore the name of Chais de Sourcesol. He held an office in the seminary of St. Supplice. He published, in 1800, at Avignon, where he then resided, *Le Livre des Manifestes*, two small volumes, since reprinted at Paris. In the year 1800, there appeared at Paris the supplement to this work, entitled, *La Clef des Oracles divins*. In this the author opposes the law of celibacy, of confession, the veneration of relics, the worship of images, and the celebration of the mass. These two works have been followed by *l'Evangile Eternel*, in which he maintains that the justice of God consists in nothing but in regulating his compassion by the misery of his creatures, and he treats as absurd, the eternal duration of punishment. Lastly, there appeared *Mandement du Ciel aux Eglises egarees, complement du Livre des Manifestes*. Here he opposes again the Romish Church, the worship of relics and of images, the invocation of Saints, the eternity of pains, the celibacy of the clergy, and the observation of lent. This author, it is said, afterward removed to America.[2]

VI. It is very pleasant to number among the believers of universal restitution, that amiable, benevolent Christian, John Frederick Oberlin, pastor of Waldbach, in France. He was a man, like Howard, for benevolence. Undoubtedly the warm love of mankind, which he cherished in his own soul, led him to embrace fervently the hope of the salvation of all men. Says his biographer :

" He seemed to hope that the passage, 1 Cor. xv. 28, where it is said that ' all things ' shall be subjected unto the Almighty, and the Son also himself shall be subjected, that ' God may be all in all,'

[1] " Memoirs of the Private Life of my Father, by the Baroness de Stael Holstien, to which are added Miscellanies by M. Necker." p. 285. See Month. Repos. xv. p. 114, 115.

[2] Histoire des Sect. Relig. T. ii. 21–23.

might include not only the little flock of Christ's immediate followers, but, ultimately, at some almost indefinite period, through the boundless mercy of God and the blood of Jesus, which was shed for the sins of the whole world, all the race of mankind. And he was strengthened in this belief by understanding in another than the ordinary sense, that 'as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'"[1] 1 Cor. xv. 22.

OTHER FACTS CONCERNING FRANCE.

VII. A late writer has said, that the doctrine of Universalism has prevailed very extensively in France, — a fact with which we were not acquainted until recently. There is a numerous class of Christians there, called Arians, Pelagians and Socinians by their enemies, but who are in

[1] See Memoirs of John Frederick Oberlin, pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. From the third London edition, with an Introduction by the American editor. Cambridge, 1832, p. 200.

This pure-hearted, excellent, useful man, whose praise has been on almost every tongue, died on June 1st, 1826, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, after an illness of two or three days. From the second London edition of the Memoir of Oberlin, we learn, that

He had a remarkable reverence for the Bible, and especially for the books of Moses and the Gospels. p. 233.

Of the manner of his discourses, and his deep reverence for the Bible, see the following.

"In his sermons, Oberlin was simple, energetic and affectionate, continually speaking to his people under the appellation of *mes chers amis*, [my dear friends.] He appeared to study a colloquial plainness, interspersing his discourses with images and allusions, which had they been addressed to a more refined audience might have been deemed homely, but which were particularly adapted to the capacities and wants of his secluded villagers. He would frequently introduce biographical anecdotes of persons distinguished for their piety; and the boundless field of nature furnished him striking illustrations to explain spiritual things. But the Bible itself, *la chere Bible*, (the dear Bible,) as he exclaimed, with tears of gratitude, a short time before his last illness, was the grand source of all his instructions. It formed the study of his life, and, as he said, constituted his own consolation under all trials, the source of his strength, and the ruling principle of his actions; — how then could he do less than recommend it to others? He was in the habit of citing very largely from it, from the conviction that the simple exposition of the word of God was the best means of efficaciously interesting his flock. His sermons were almost always composed with the greatest care; and when unable, for want of time, to write them out at length, he made at least a tolerably full outline. In general, he committed them scrupulously to memory, but in the pulpit he did not confine himself to the precise words, and would indeed sometimes change the subject altogether, if he saw that another was apparently better suited to the circumstances of his auditory." pp. 236, 237.

fact, UNITARIAN UNIVERSALISTS. A correspondent of the "New York Observer," a highly Orthodox publication, is now in France, [1834,] making diligent inquiry into the state of religion there. He says of the sect to whom we have referred above:

"They refuse also to admit the eternity of future misery; they believe only in a temporary punishment, a sort of *Protestant purgatory*, whence condemned souls will one day be released and share the happiness of the elect. They explain the new birth by the operation of the Holy Spirit, as only a change of conduct, a natural result of human powers. The other doctrines of revelation are also mutilated by our Socinians and Arians, and when their theological system is attentively examined, it is a mere empty shadow of evangelical truth.

I have said above, that the pastors who adopt Pelagian and Arian opinions, are numerous in France. This fact is unhappily too well established. We could wish it were otherwise, but can we refuse to open our eyes? Can we deny what is known and obvious to all? These pastors are generally well received by infidels; for infidelity readily forms a close alliance with Socinianism. Not that our worldly men are generally Socinians; but they love Socinian preachers, because these last resemble themselves much more than the Orthodox, because they announce to them doctrines *accommodated* to their ruling habits, and out of the church, do not speak of religion."

Here we have the explicit testimony of a violent, orthodox sectarian, that Universalism has prevailed to a considerable extent, among the Protestant clergy in France. As to the epithets of reproach which he casts upon them, we cannot account for them very easily, except from bitterness, and we let them pass without further remark.

A female traveller, who was in Paris about the same time with the last named writer, and who produced a work

entitled, "Paris and the Parisians," speaks of a body of Christians, whom she found in that city, as follows:

"They acknowledge the 'real presence' in the Eucharist. The Clergy are permitted to marry. They deny that any power of absolution rests with the Priest, but allow him that of intercession by prayer. Auricular confession is not enjoined, but recommended as useful to *children*. They profess *entire toleration* to every variety of Christian belief, and refuse to acknowledge a dependence on any foreign sect. They recognize the seven sacraments, *deny the eternity of punishment*, and Mrs. T. found no mention made of *Purgatory!* They require not fasting and abstinence, but leave such matters with the faithful themselves —'substituting for an occasional fast an habitual sobriety, and replacing a periodical abstinence by temperance observed each day, each year, through life.'"

M. COQUEREL AND THE CHURCH DE L'ORATOIRE.

VIII. But the fullest and most satisfactory testimony is given by the younger M. Coquerel, one of the pastors of the church *de l' Oratoire*, in Paris. After having described Universalism in France, in former times, he says:

"Now that I come to our times, I can speak to you of works published in France. But I can cite only a single French author, who has taught Universalism formally and explicitly; I mean my father. He has done it on two occasions. In 1847, he published an outline of all his theological and philosophical convictions, in his "Experimental Christianity," (*Christianisme Experimental,*) a work which was translated the same year in London, with the title, "*Christianity, its perfect adaptation to the mental, moral and spiritual nature of man.*" The last chapter of this book is entitled, "Hope of Universal Restitution;" and the idea of the final salvation of all souls is presented as a necessary result of all that goes before; the natural and indispensable climax of the Christian economy. The objections to the doctrine are examined and refuted in the light of the philosophical and Christian principles of the work, and copious notes contain a discussion of the Biblical texts.

Later still, last November, my father delivered two sermons on the same subject, which a large number of believers requested him to publish. They appeared about the first of this year, in a small 12mo. volume, with the title, "The Second Death, and Eternal Punishment." (*La Mort Seconde et les peines eternelles.*) The question is fairly met, plainly stated, and clearly solved. These sermons met result which might have been expected. Some narrow and conservative minds were much offended; but the great majority of our Protestants, eager for such a truly liberal Christianity, saw with joy the downfall and destruction of the difficulties with which Calvinistic

Orthodoxy has enwrapped the Gospel, and gratefully received the pure radiance of the Divine Word, which is love. The Universalist faith meets the needs of a great number of souls; a multitude of persons have borne witness to this fact to my father. He has received many letters and visits, in which religious people have thanked him for having removed that terrible stone of stumbling from their path.

Liberal Protestantism counts by far the most numerous adherents in France; the strict Calvinists are much smaller in number, and with few exceptions, are growing less rigid every day. Now the final Restoration is a doctrine which is more and more regarded as a natural sequence of Protestant Liberalism, and without claiming that the word Universalism is very prevalent, or that the question occupies a large space in the actual mental movement of the time, that movement is favorable to it in a high degree. Many people are Universalists, or become so, without clearly accounting to themselves for their faith.

Many of the most eminent pastors in France sympathize with our views upon the question; and since congregations are generally disposed to admit them, progress is going on."[1]

[1] See the work entitled, "A Year Abroad, or Sketches of Travel in Great Britain, France and Switzerland." By Willard C. George. Boston: Abel Tompkins, 1852. pp. 152, 153.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN PRUSSIA AND ITALY.

PAUL JEREMIAH BITAUBE.

I. Paul Jeremiah Bitaube, published a work at Berlin, in 1763, entitled, *Examen de la Confession de Foi Vaicaire Savoyard.* In this production he insinuated the doctrine of Universalism; and he is well known to have been doubtful on the subject of eternal punishment. He was a pensioner of Frederick II., and held a place in Berlin Academy. His works, were a French translation of Homer; Joseph, and Les Bataves, poems; De l'Influence des Belles Lettres sur la Philosophie, and Elogee de Corneille.

MOVEMENT OF THE PROTESTANT FRIENDS.

II. The people of Prussia, as well as through all Germany, are breaking away from the faith and forms of the Catholic, and also the German Protestant or Established Church. A large section of this Church filed off not long since. We learn from the *Watchman and Reflector*, the leading Baptist journal of Massachusetts, that their leader is "a middle aged man named Ulich. It may be mentioned in passing, that in 1845 he was called from Poemmelte to the charge of the Catherine Church in Magdeburg, and that in 1848 he was elected a member first of the Prussian

National Academy, and afterwards of that Second Chamber which was adjourned *sine die* by the bayonets of *Father* Wrangel's soldiers. Ulich is a man, also, of irreproachable morals, and in his character is an honor to his profession. In the spring of 1841, Ulich made the arrangements, and issued a call for a meeting of the pastors of this vicinity at the small town of Gnadau. The meeting was held, but only sixteen persons joined in it. A second meeting was held in October, at Halle, at which the number of clergymen and laymen together amounted to fifty-six. During the succeeding three years, the success of Ulich and his friends was astonishing. In 1844, assemblies of the people [Volksversammlungen], were held successively in Gnadau, Schoenback, Dessau, Aschersleben, Koennern, Eisleben, Rathenow, Wittenberg, Frankfort, on the Oder, Breslau, Hirschberg, Goerlity and Naumburg. Besides Ulich, the principal leaders in the movement were Rupp and Detroit in Koenigsberg, Balzer in Delitsch, and afterwards in Nordhausen, Wislicenus in Halle, Theile and Fischner in Leipzic."

We have no account of this people, except what we gain from their enemies, — it is possible these statements of their religious opinions are not to be fully relied upon. There is, in the *Watchman and Reflector*, already referred to, under date of June, 1851, a somewhat particular account of Ulich and his followers, furnished by the German correspondent of that paper. We give the following extracts :

In 1845, Ulich published two works containing an exposition of his views : "The Protestant Friends ; a Circular addressed to the Christians of the German People," and "The Creeds." They are of some importance in the history of the "Lecht Freunde" movement, as they serve for a commentary upon the declaration and creed adopted at the great Assembly which was held the same year.

The "Protestantische Freunde" (Protestant Friends, or

Friends of Protestantism,) are laboring to the end that Christianity may at length in our time reach its real and true form and development.

In Luther's Catechism it is taught that Jesus Christ is really and truly God, and that man, as a man, is a lost and damned being; that Christ arose from the dead and ascended bodily to heaven; that there will be a future resurrection of man in the flesh; that baptism works forgiveness of sins, and saves from death and the devil, and that we, at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, receive the real body and blood of Christ to eat and to drink. Now, how many of our religious societies actually believe all this! What, then, is to be done? We must free ourselves from all this as our fathers freed themselves from heathenism, and afterwards from Popery.

It is the noble task of the "Protestantische Freunde" not only to separate from systems of Christianity whatever has no foundation in truth, but also to proclaim to the world what the truths of Christianity really are.

Luther teaches, "man is by himself utterly bad, and forever damned; the punishment which he deserves, Christ took upon himself, and atoned for on the cross; whoever properly and truly believes this, to him is the merit of Christ imputed, and declared by God to be a recompense—to him will God show mercy, and he shall share in the blessedness of eternity." This doctrine falls at once if we hold fast to the thought—God is our *Father*—God is love! Time was when rude and uncultivated ages could picture to themselves eternal wrath on the part of the Deity, and eternal punishment for the sinner. But believe this—we cannot—we dare not!

The death of Christ upon the cross is indeed the highest of all proofs of his love to mankind, the strongest testimony he could give of the truth of what he taught concerning the duty of men to love God and to love one another and concerning the love of God for us. This is reasonable

and Christian, for between reason and *real* Christianity there is no opposition.

All those who repudiate the prominent doctrines of the Lutheran Church, are not to be set down as Rationalists, in the obnoxious sense of that term. All over Germany the leaven of the gospel is working, and purging out the errors of former ages. The people have not lost their respect for Luther; they think he was an angel of God, in redeeming the human mind from bondage; but he lived in the *very dawn* of the Reformation, and scarcely saw the broad light of day. If we follow the principles which Luther laid down as the basis of the reformation, they will lead us to all truth.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ITALY.

III. The only instance we have known of the defence of Universalism in this country, occurs in the case of a work entitled *Tractatus de Omnium Rerum Restitutione*, a "Tract on the Restitution of all Things," 8vo., printed at Venice, 1592, and written by Costacciaro *vel* Carbo A. Costiaro. Neither of this author, nor of his work, have we been able to find any account; but we judge, from the title, it was in favor of Universalism, though of this we cannot be certain. [1]

[1] Watts' Bibliotheca.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN IRELAND.

I. Ireland furnishes few instances only of the prevalence of Universalism, but these are found among her most celebrated ecclesiastics. George Rust, was a fellow of Christ's College, in Cambridge, and was patronized by several learned men, among whom we may reckon Jeremy Taylor; by whose influence he was made dean of Connor, and afterwards was raised to the See of Dromore. Among his associates in college were Dr. Henry More and Archbishop Tillotson, of whom we have spoken; and it is highly probable that the foundation of their liberality and community of sentiment, was thus early laid. The publication in which Bishop Rust has manifested his belief in the salvation of all mankind, is his "Letter of Resolution, concerning Origen and the chief of his opinions," which, although not an open defence of Universalism, has obtained for its author the credit of having favored that doctrine. It purports to have been written at the earnest solicitation of one of his friends, without any expectation of its being published, and is a statement of Origen's opinions, with the arguments by which he maintained them, and an account of the spirit and temper of his opponents, and the reasons they alleged against his sentiments. These the Bishop

classes under six heads. 1. Origen's views of the Holy Trinity, among the hypostases whereof it is said he admitted an inequality. 2. The pre-existence of human souls. 3. That mankind were clothed with terrestrial bodies, and placed on this earth, as a punishment for sins committed in a pre-existent state. 4. That the mystery of the resurrection is, that men will be clothed with heavenly or etherial bodies. 5. That after long periods of time, the damned shall be delivered from their torments, and try their fortunes again in such regions of the world, as their nature fits them for. 6. That the earth, after its conflagration, shall become habitable again, and be the mansion of men and other animals, and this in eternal vicissitudes. The intelligent reader of the Bishop's letter will perceive, that no person who did not hold the views of Origen concerning the final salvation of all men, could have stated his opinion with so much warmth, and repelled the objections to it with such spirit and success; and the author certainly, if he meant to disguise his sentiments, was constrained by his feelings to speak with sufficient freedom to convict him of being the ardent defender rather than the mere annotator of Origen's sentiments. We are indeed in an error, if this letter was not designed principally and primarily as a defence of the doctrine of Universal Restitution, which its author, on account of the station he held, was reluctant to acknowledge as his real object; and though the production was at first anonymous, he takes care to guard against the charge of heresy by showing, that what the moderns regard as Origen's distinguishing tenet, viz., Universal Restitution, is tolerated in the thirty-nine Articles of the English Church.

Bishop Rust finally concludes his account by saying:

"So that whithersoever we look, whether to the gracious providence of God, or the necessity of the nature of things, we find some probable hope, that the punishment of the damned, as it implies the sense of pain, shall not be eternal in the highest sense of the word. But whether their release be by any change wrought in the dispo-

sition of their spirits, but without death; or whether by an escape, as it were, by dying to the body so tortured; there is no doubt to be made, but that both ways they may come into play again, and try their fortunes once more in such regions of the world as Providence judges fit for them." [1]

II. A work appeared in Dublin, in 1748, entitled, An Essay on the Felicity of the Life to Come, by C. L. de Villette, minister of the French Church of St. Patrick in that city. It was an 8vo. of four hundred and forty pages, and was conducted by way of dialogue. In the latter part, the question concerning eternal punishment is introduced, the negative of which this author defends. Whether he did not believe in annihilation, is a question of doubt. "There is," said he, "much reason to believe, that during the two or three first ages of Christianity, the annihilation of the impenitently wicked was the generally received doctrine. They went even further than this. Every body knows that the great Origen admitted the restitution of the damned, without excepting the Devil. It has happened in more than one instance, that the errors of the Fathers have been received, while we have rejected their sound doctrines." [2]

III. The liberal principles of Archbishop Newcome are well known; and the station he filled as primate of Ireland, is a proof of the esteem with which he was regarded. His works, which were all theological, manifest his great learning, and particularly his extensive Biblical literature. The sentiments of this great man with regard to the punishment of the wicked, were widely different from what would be considered in this country sound orthodoxy, although we cannot pronounce with confidence that he was a Universalist. At one part of his life he seems to have believed in annihilation; but in the translation of the New Testa-

[1] See a work entitled the Phœnix, vol. i. p. 1, in which the Letter of Dr. Rust had been republished.

[2] Bibliotheque Raisonnee pour les mois d'Octobre, Novembre and Decembre, 1748.

ment, his most elaborate work, which received his maturest thoughts, and which was not published until after his death, he appears to have favored a different opinion. See his comment on Ephesians i : 9, 10. "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he purposed in himself, concerning the dispensation of the fulness of times, that he would gather together to himself in one *all things* through Christ, which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in him." To this he adds, "Some think that the Greek word implies the idea of a re-union under one head; and it is true that the restoration of the human race to the knowledge and worship of God was one design of Christianity;" and he interprets the phrase *all* things to signify "all persons, all intelligent beings." The expression *which are in heaven, and which are on earth*, he interprets to mean, "not only angels, but all mankind whether Jews or Gentiles." Of Colossians i. 20, in which the apostle declares that God will reconcile *all things* to himself, he adds that the phrase *all things* signifies "all intelligent creatures." We confess that we do not consider this as certain proof that he was a Universalist.[1]

IV. In Ireland there has been at least one religious Society professing Universalism by way of distinction. It was established in Colerain; and, in 1824, the Rev. James Ewing presided over it as elder, and Rev. George Houston, as assistant speaker. Mr. Ewing with several friends, was excommunicated from a Baptist church for sentiments supposed to be erroneous. They set up a separate worship, but as yet were not Universalists. Some years after this, Mr. Houston, who had been connected with the Methodists, left them with many other members, in consequence of a difference of views with respect to the administration of

[1] See his translation of the New Testament.

the Sacrament. He soon joined the society in connection with Mr. Ewing. On reading Evans' Sketch of the denominations in the Christian World, he was very forcibly and favorably struck with the system of the Universalists as there laid down, but he feared to embrace it. Shortly after Ramsay's Travels of Cyrus fell into his hands, and the reasonings of that work were too cogent for him to reject. He now began anew, as it were, to search the Scriptures, and found them fraught with the doctrine, which he from time to time stated in his discourses to the church. To them it appeared strange at first, but they had learned to examine before they rejected, and in a short time the elder and his little band, believed the joyful tidings.

This society remained unknown to the Universalists in England and Scotland, until the year 1823, when, by accident, they became acquainted with each other, and mutual visits were interchanged between the pastor of the Universalist Society in Glasgow, and of that in Colerain. The latter joined the British connexion of Universalists, and for a long time, we believe, a correspondence was kept up between them.[1]

[1] See the Gospel Communicator, published by Rev. Mr. Worrall, of Glasgow, vol. ii. 85; iii. 279 283. Those who would learn more of the History of Universalism in Ireland, are referred to an article on Universalism in Great Britain and Ireland, by Rev. J. T. Sawyer, in the Universalist Expositor, vol. vi. pp. 183—212.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN SCOTLAND.

I. One of the earliest Universalists of whom we find a trace in Scotland, was Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Sessions. He was a Hebrew scholar, and wrote several theological works. In his treatise entitled, "Reflections on the sources of Infidelity," is the following observation in regard to future punishment and its duration. Speaking of the infidel's objection to revelation, from the perpetuity of punishment, he says, "here again the incomprehensible, the infinitely perfect Being, is measured by the span of the low, blind, grovelling creature that makes the objection; who, because he cannot comprehend why this justice is suited to the divine nature, concludes at once, that the doctrine is impossible, and therefore false; and in consequence rejects the revelation which is said to assert it, without giving himself the trouble to examine the evidence that supports that revelation, or even to inquire whether the matter that thus shocks him, is really revealed. A careful inquiry might possibly satisfy him, that the perpetuity of punishment is not absolutely affirmed, and that no more is necessarily to be inferred from revelation, than that the misery of the damned is to endure for ages." It may rather be said that Lord Forbes allowed than defended the doctrine of Universalism.

II. James Purves, was probably the first public preacher of Universalism in Scotland. He was born in 1734, of poor parents, and early in life joined a society of dissenters in Berwickshire. When this society with others of a similar faith, desired to educate some person to become a public defender of their views, Mr. Purves was selected. This was in 1769. He repaired to Glasgow, where he spent a short time, and made some proficiency in the study of Greek and Hebrew. In 1771, the society to which he belonged published an abstract of its principles, drawn up by him, which brought him into a controversy with some ministers of the reformed presbytery. Several members of these societies removing to Edinburgh, Mr. Purves was invited there to be their minister, an office which he filled until his death. As a preacher he did not shine; but for solidity of argument, and propriety of arrangement, he was justly esteemed. In controversy he was calm and deliberate; no opposition or even insult ever ruffled his temper. A resignation to the will of God, even in the most trying scenes of life, supported him; and his strong faith in the doctrine of the resurrection enabled him, triumphant over death, to resign all terrestrial things, on Feb. 15th, 1795, in the 61st year of his age. He died deeply lamented both by his society, and even his opponents.[1]

He was the author of several works, the principal of which was entitled, "An Humble Attempt to Investigate and Defend the Scripture doctrine concerning the Father, Son and Holy Spirit; to which are added observations concerning the meditation of Jesus Christ, in the various dispensations of God the Father, and the final issue of his administration. With an appendix, &c."[2] Mr. Purves was a Unitarian Universalist.

[1] Monthly Repos. xv. 77—80.

[2] The edition of this work which we have seen, is the second, published in 1784, by Mr. Purves, at Edinburgh.

III. The Universalist Society in Edinburgh, we believe, was never large. Mr. Purves, although a good writer, was not an orator; this, with his humble mein, and disposition for retirement, disqualified him as a popular preacher, calculated to draw a large congregation. The society continued in the profession and maintenance of their faith after his death. It is now probably known in connection with the Unitarians." [1]

IV. In about five years after the death of Mr. Purves, another champion arose to embrace the doctrine of Universalism in Scotland, and who, to his death, remained an ardent defender of this sentiment. We refer to Niel Douglas. He was a native of the highlands of Scotland, and was once pastor of the Relief Church in Dundee. He embraced Universalism in the year 1801, and commenced preaching it in Greenock, where he suffered many persecutions. Possessed of a bold spirit, inspired at the same time with a lively patriotism and benevolence, he did not hesitate to speak against the political evils of the times; and on one occasion he was indicted for sedition, but on trial was acquitted. This was in 1817. After spending a few years in Greenock as a preacher of Universalism, Mr. Douglas removed to Glasgow, as a wider field for usefulness, under the condition that he should administer occasionally to the people in the former place. Here he filled the station of a gospel minister several years, and raised up a congregation. He labored arduously in the promulgation of his sentiments, not only in Glasgow, but in different parts of the country, and in several places was successful, and formed societies of his own faith. He was the author of many works, sermons, treatises, &c. We may perhaps regard him as the Father of Universalism in Scotland.[2]

1 Universalist Miscellany, v 6.

2 This account of Mr. Douglass has been picked up from various sources, principally from his preface to Mr. Winchester's famous sermon, entitled,

V. In the decline of Mr. Douglas' life, the society called to his assistance in the labors of the Gospel, Mr. William Worrall, who had been one of the congregation in Glasgow. This gentleman labored ardently and successfully as a preacher of Universal Restitution. He frequently made visits to different parts of Scotland, and seconded his labors in the pulpit by the use of his pen. During the few years he was permitted to spend in the ministry, he published, besides several sermons, and other tracts, three volumes of a periodical, entitled the Gospel Communicator, commenced in August, 1823, and continued, with a little intermission, until 1827; and which was probably the only Universalist periodical ever published in that country. Mr. Douglas deceased, on the 9th of January, 1823, after which Mr. Worrall lived to serve the congregation but two or three years, and was removed suddenly by a violent fever, in March, 1828, leaving an afflicted people to mourn his loss.[1]

VI. The labors of such men as Douglass and Worrall, could not be unavailing. The Society in Glasgow increased in numbers, and several congregations were formed in other places. At one time there were five regularly constituted societies, besides that in the city, in Greenock, Johnstone, Paisley, Ayr and Falkirk. These keep up constant weekly meetings, though they had no settled preachers, some one

"The Outcasts Comforted," one or two editions of which Mr. D. published. His works, so far as we have become acquainted with them, were, The Duty of Pastors concerning the Lord's Supper, a Synod Sermon, with a long dialogue on frequent Communion; A Critical Examination of 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28; An Answer to Rev. Alexander Brown's Letters in defence of Endless Misery; Leonidas, or the Invasion of Greece, by Xerxes; Probable consequences of a successful Invasion, in reference to political events; a Version of the Psalms, with copious notes; two Lectures delivered in Paisley, December, 1805, on Universalism, with an appendix, defending the doctrine against a recent attack; Strictures on the Author's Trial; Antidote against Deism, &c., &c. It is impossible for us to arrange these in the order of time in which they were published.

[1] My authorities in relation to the Sketch of Mr. Worrall's labors are the Gospel Communicator, and a letter from Mr. Edmunds, his successor. See Trumpet, vol, 1, p. 131, (1829.)

of the members officiating, and the preacher in Glasgow made occasional visits to these places. The churches held annual Conference, for mutual advice and co-operation, at which a report was made of the progress of the cause they espoused, and of the interesting events which had occurred during the past year. Those who are known here by the name of Universalists, hold to the Deity of Jesus Christ, which caused them for a time to maintain a distinction between themselves and the Unitarians.

VII. The Unitarian churches in Scotland, without exception, we believe, hold to the doctrine of Universal Restoration, which they zealously maintain. They are not many in number, and would not greatly exceed the Universalists in this respect. Dr. T. Southwood Smith, formerly minister of the Unitarian church in Edinburgh, wrote one of the most pleasing treatises ever published in confirmation of the fact, that everything is under the direction of infinite wisdom and goodness, and will finally terminate in the universal happiness of the human race. This work was first printed in Glasgow, in 1816, has since been several times republished, and has received the decided approbation of the Unitarians as a body. The author considers, 1st. The Government of God. 2d. The evidence in favor of Universalism, aside from that furnished by the express declarations of Scripture. 3d. The objections commonly urged against the doctrine; and 4th. The Scriptural evidence in favor of it.[1] The Rev. George Harris, editor of the Christian Pioneer, printed at Glasgow, is a decided believer in Universal Restitution, and several years ago, delivered in

[1] This is the work which made so deep an impression on the mind of Lord Byron. Moore the biographer and intimate friend of his lordship, states that he was not an unbeliever in revealed religion, but that he was sceptical merely, and had been so from his early youth. His doubts arose, not from ignorance, or prejudice, but from the evidences of revealed religion failing to satisfy his mind. He was known to be a frequent and constant reader of the Bible, particularly the Old Testament; and to have devoted much time to the perusal of works on theology. His scepticism

Liverpool a course of lectures, in which one or two discourses were devoted particularly to the defence of that sentiment.[1]

ROBERT BURNS.

VIII. Rev. A. B. Grosh, has written the following facts concerning the greatest of Scotland's poets:

True, the stern features and gloomy cloud of Calvinism, to which he was reared in his youth, tinged his few brief and leisure hours with despondency, and later in life had nearly hurried him into the chilling and equally bewildering desert of infidelity. But his better moments and calmer reflections prevented him. The creed so abhorrent to his

and the looseness of his moral conduct, will, with many persons, detract much from the weight of a deliberate opinion even of his mighty mind, upon a subject of religious controversy. With others, the opinion of one of the master spirits of the age, and of one of the greatest minds of all ages, will derive an additional claim to respect, from the circumstance, that he was of no sect or party in religion, and was not pledged, by his faith, to the support of any particular system of Christian doctrine. In regard to *future punishment*, his biographer gives the following account of his belief.

On the subject of Dr. Southwood Smith's amiable and, it is to be hoped for the sake of Christianity and the human race, *Orthodox* work on "the Divine Government," he (Lord Byron) thus spoke:

"I cannot decide the point; but to my present apprehension, it would be a most desirable thing, could it be proved, that ultimately all created beings, are to be happy. This would appear to be most consistent with God, whose power is omnipotent and whose chief attribute is love. I cannot yield to your doctrine of the eternal duration of punishment. This author's (Southwood's) opinion is more humane, and I think he supports it very strongly from Scripture." — Moore's Byron, vol. ii. p. 470, New York edition.

[1] There is one fact connected with this sketch of the history of Universalism in Scotland, which is of too much importance to be passed over. The celebrated Dr. Macknight, of Edinburgh, has let fall an expression in one of his works which brings him under the imputation of having a very weak faith in the doctrine of endless misery. When arguing for the perpetuity of future misery, he says, "At the same time, I must be so candid as to acknowledge, that the use of the terms *eternal*, *everlasting*, *forever*, in other passages of Scripture, shows that they who understand these words in a limited sense when applied to punishment, put no forced interpretation on them. Allowing that eternal punishments are really meant in the threatenings of the gospel, no man can deny that God has it still in his power to mitigate and modify his threatenings to what degree infinite wisdom sees fit." Truth of the Gospel History, p. 138. Universalist Theolog. Mag. vi. 301. See his Com. on Rom. v. 18, 19; also his note on 2 Thes. i. 9.

heart, and the doubts so dreary and hopeless to his wants, all appear to have fled from his breast, and a better and more cheering belief filled their room. He became acquainted with the opinions of other denominations — he readily thought, he observed, and *he suffered* much—and it is little wonder that so clear a head and so good a heart escaped from both Calvinism and skepticism. Such appears, from his many epistles on religious subjects, to have been the case. I have often thought, in reading them, "this man wanted but to be told of Universalism and its proofs, and he would have embraced it." Many of his remarks breathe so full a spirit of Universalism, that I thought he must have seen, as it were, a faint ray of mankind's glorious destiny, and stood waiting and longing to catch another, that he might believe it without fear of delusion. Little did I then know that he *did* believe it—that Scotia's greatest, favorite bard, was a Universalist. True, he was a trembling believer — one whose feelings, rather than his judgment, were convinced—but he hoped in it, and it was to him somewhat like light shining in darkness and the darkness comprehending it not. But it was known that he thus hoped, by his friends. Allan Cunningham, the son (I believe) of the intimate friend of our bard, and himself the poet's biographer, and editor of a new and elegant edition of his works — Mr. Cunningham, "in his Biographical and Critical History of the last Fifty Years," says of Robert Burns, "To a love of human nature, he added an affection for the flowers of the valley—the fowls of the air — the beasts of the field; he acknowledged the tie of social sympathy which bound his heart to all created things, and *carried his universal good will so far, as to entertain hopes of* UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION, *and the* RESTORATION *of the* DOOMED SPIRITS *to power and lustre.*"

It can hardly be possible that this clear, strong, expressive language was used to mean any thing else than its plain and most apparent meaning — nor can it be possible

that Mr. Cunningham would so deliberately state as undoubted fact, what was not such in reality. And if not, then was Robert Burns, Scotland's and the heart's dearest poet, a believer in universal salvation.

MRS. A. COBURN.

IX. Mrs. Alison Cockburn — pronounced Coburn — was a lady of great social eminence in Scotland. She was the friend of Walter Scott, David Hume, and Henry McKenzie. Lord Lindsary pronounced her one of the most remarkable Scottish women of her century, and Walter Scott says that "her active benevolence kept pace with her genius, and rendered her equally an object of love and admiration." To one of her correspondents — Lady Anne Barnard, (the author of that world-renowned ballad, *"Auld Robin Gray,"*) —she pens the following explicit avowal of the sentiments that made her what she was. We are indebted for it, and the foregoing facts, to Rev. A. G. Laurie, who furnished the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, with two admirable articles concerning this distinguished woman. Mrs. Cockburn writes:

"*My dear Lady Anne:* Your letter I found to-night, when I came from a long tour of sick people. I am a good deal fatigued with seeing much distress, though I was much comforted with seeing Mrs. Scott. She is really recovering, and very happy. My next scene was a wife that is not sorry that her mate is dying; she is really low spirited, but not grieved; grief is a pleasure for an object of worth, but the pangs the unworthy give to worthy minds is the bitterness of death. Much have you to see, much to deserve, and, alas! much have you to feel! Look at it early," (the world, she means,) "as a nursery where you are to be whipped into good order, and a perfect acquiescence with the Divine Will. The Almighty Maker of Souls, has various methods of restoring them to the Divine Image,—it is impossible His power can fail; *it is impossible for his image to be eternally obliterated*; *it is impossible that misery, sin and discord can be eternal!* Look then on the erring sons of men as on wretched prisoners, bound in fetters for a time, but recollect that *they are and must be eternal as well as you, and that in the endless ages of Eternity they will be restored to order.* This faith, which is sincerely mine, makes me see things in very different lights from what others do, and perhaps *is the key to my whole conduct.* Clean and unclean are welcome to my pity; I know that with all our thousand errors flesh is heir to, we will *one day be all right.*"

BOOK V.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN WALES.

I. One of the earliest preachers of Universalism in Wales, was Rev. Thomas Jones, who afterwards emigrated to the United States of America. In a private letter to the author of the Modern History, written in 1824, he mentioned a Welsh preacher, older in years than himself and earlier in the profession of Universalism. Mr. Jones saw him in 1782; and his account of him is as follows:

"The name of the man in question was Thomas Sheen: he had been a travelling preacher in the Welch connection of Calvinistic Methodists; but when I saw him he belonged to no connection, but preached as a free independent man at different places in the neighborhood where he lived, and travelled some in the adjacent counties and preached. For he had some friends and hearers who adhered to him and believed his doctrine.

I met him accidentally (or providentially) at a farm house, called Penkerrig, (about 15 miles from lady Huntingdon's College, where I was then a student) in Brecknockshire, South Wales; of which county, I think Mr. Sheen was a native. When I saw him, he appeared to be about sixty-eight years old, but in good health, and all animation.

He spake fluently in Welch and English; he conversed

with me in English. He was the first Universalist I ever heard talk on the subject. He preached publicly the salvation of all men. He was called an Antinomian by the tongue of slander, and greatly calumniated by his former friends—both ministers and people. He had also domestic trials. I have heard from his friends that he was a very patient man, and bore all things that befell him as a permission of Providence for some good design. I was told by one of his friends in the year A. D. 1790, that he died in triumph! He was allowed by even his religious enemies to be a man of great talents and reasoning. I can say no more of him, for I never saw him but twice after the first interview. But I can tell you, Brother Whittemore, that what Mr. Sheen said to me, (when I was only nineteen years old, when I first saw him,) was never forgotten by me; and though I did not believe it, I often thought of it. It occurred often with force. I was afraid it was error. I shut the door of *voluntary* thought against it for years. But in the year of Christ 1788, from the force it had upon me, I received it as the truth of God—the gospel of his grace by his Son. I never read an author on the subject, till after I became a believer."

II. Thus far concerning Thomas Sheen. The name Universalism is but little known in Wales. It is engrossed with Unitarianism. The Unitarians probably hold, in their hearts, the doctrine of the final happiness of all men, but not much is said on that great doctrine; it is not held distinctively. A late Welch Unitarian writes as follows:

"No church in Wales, is known by the designation 'Universalist.' Everyc hurch where Universalism is taught, is either Unitarian or Arian. Of the latter, there are but few, now, as all the teachers of that sect are professed Unitarians, with the exception of one or two illiterate persons, not acknowledged as regular ministers. Those churches, which were formerly Arian, are known also, by the name of Presbyterian, and by that name they are recognized in the London Board of Ministers, &c. Yet, they differ widely from the Scotch and American Presbyterians of the old and new school. They are

all believers in universal restoration; and that is the reason why I rank them with the Universalists.

In order to give you as fair an outline as possible, I hereby present you with the following table. Those marked with a star, are professed Unitarians, the rest have been Arians.

[Here follows a table giving the names of twenty-five churches, thirteen of which are designated as Unitarian. The remainder are or have been Arian. The table also gives the number of Members and Hearers as far as known,—the former at about 1000, and the latter at about 3000. The number of Ministers with their names are also given, as far as known, and amount to fifteen.]

There are a few preachers besides the above, who are merely assistants. I do not recollect their names, with the exception of one —Rev. Arthur Williams, a superanuated, respectable assistant minister. There is a College in Carmarthen, called the Presbyterian College, in which a few clever and promising Unitarians are educated. Two Welch Universalists, the Rev. J. Evans and the Rev. D. Evans, are at present ministers in England. I have but little more to say on the subject, save that Universalism in spite of all the opposition from a host of other sects, is rapidly on the increase. Had there been as much honesty in all the churches, as has been displayed in the Unitarian church, a greater increase would have been the result. I found the ministers of the churches in which I was ordained, very much opposed to Universal Restoration, and indeed I was myself not much better. When I found out the truth, and was convinced that if God willed the salvation of all he would save all, I openly preached it, and though many left me and the church, I succeeded in persuading them all of the truth of that doctrine. I rejoice in it. I am not ashamed to make a boast of it. Let any one contradict it if he can. There are still in Wales the most unflinching and faithful advocates of that doctrine; among whom may be noticed in particular, the Rev. John James, of Gellionnen.

I am, sir, respectfully yours,

THOMAS GRIFFITHS, Welch Unitarian.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

I. Universalism prevails in the Lutheran Church of Germany; is found among the Reformed Protestant churches of France; in the English Church; and among the Dissenters of Great Britain. The Roman Catholic church is supposed to exclude it altogether. But that it exists in the ancient and immense communion, called the Greek Church, will appear from the extracts which we here subjoin.

Our authority is a work published, 1816, at Stuttgard in Germany, entitled, "Considerations sur la Doctrine et l'Esprit de l'Eglise Orthodoxe. Par Alexandre de Stourdza." 8vo. pp. 218. Of its author, Stourdza, we have been able to obtain no other account than that he is, or was, Counsellor of State, to the Emperor of Russia. His book is an exposition of the doctrine and practice of the Greek Church, contrasted with those of the Roman Catholic; the whole intended to show the excellence of the former, and the error of the latter. In the introduction, he informs us that he wrote it to guard those who went to dwell at St. Petersburg, against certain errors that lurked there; meaning the Roman Catholic, which had crept in, by means, probably, of emigrants and visitors from the South. He says

"Evil is a corrosive ulcer which exists only negatively. It will cease when there shall be no more victims. How? That is the secret of the eternal God.

Note. The Scripture points us to that epoch, but very mysteriously, as if beyond our reach. It is designated by the expression, *And God shall be all in all.*

Before disputing boldly, then, upon the eternity of pains, and interpreting arbitrarily certain passages of the gospel, which can never be conclusive, on account of the imperfection of all human language, which is framed on the relative ideas of time and space, —it would first be requisite to know what is the duration of evil. But to attempt to penetrate that, would be sacrilege, as we have said above. It only remains, then, for us to admire the wise course pursued by our church, which does not comment upon a doctrine that cannot be measured by our intelligence. The Church of the West, [i. e. the Roman Catholic,] unhappily has not observed the same religious caution, and has seemed to blush at such a holy and reverential reserve. Impatient to possess and to inculcate positive ideas on a subject concerning which we cannot have positive ones, since it does not rest on terrestrial principles,—she has cherished andproclaimed the ambitious doctrine of expiations *by the fire of purgatory.*" pp. 60–64.

Little has hitherto appeared among us, of the existence of Universalism in the present Greek Church. How far it now prevails in that communion, we cannot say; but it is evident, from the above extract, that Stourdza means to involve the church, to a considerable extent at least, in the opinion that there is no other perpetuity of pains than the continuance of suffering for the unknown period in which evil endures; that evil itself will at length cease, in some way not explained to us; and that the Scripture points us, though very mysteriously, to the epoch when it shall be finished, and God become all in all.[1]

[1] See Universalist Expositor, vol. vi. p. 411. Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. ix. p. 80.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER X.

JEWS. BELIEVERS OF UNIVERSAL HAPPINESS.

I. Rumor began to prevail in this country some twenty years ago, that the Jews generally rejected the doctrine of endless torture, and embraced that of the final happiness of all men. It is a peculiar spectacle to see those who do not entertain the hope of the gospel, holding to that glorious doctrine, on the strength of the Old Testament alone. Rev. James Shrigley, who resided some years since in Baltimore, once received a call from a Jewish Rabbi, the particulars of which he described in the following manner:

"The Rabbi called at my house, and in a friendly manner commenced inquiries in regard to the belief of Universalists and other denominations of professing Christians. He had not been in this country long and could not well understand English, except in private conversation. He said he had been to hear a Methodist preach, and if he had understood the preacher correctly, he stated that the punishment of the wicked would be *without end;* but he could not believe they entertained such an idea in this enlightened country, and desired to know if it was indeed so. On receiving an affirmative answer, he was greatly surprised. I informed him it was the general opinion, that the Jews believed in endless torments; he replied, "It is done to slander us—what will the Christians say of us next? Do

they think we have not sense enough to know that such a punishment would be very unjust—that it could not be according to works? The Bible does not teach us such a doctrine."

I inquired if it were not true that the Pharisees, an ancient sect of the Jews, believed it. He replied, "They did, one part of them—they borrowed it from the heathen; but the true descendants of Moses never believed in torments without end."

I asked him if he would allow me to state publicly that he did not believe the doctrine in question. He replied, "Yes, there is not an intelligent Jew in the city who believes in endless torments. It would be very unjust in God to punish a man to all eternity!"

So far Mr. Shrigley. The above facts are worthy of deep consideration. The Jews do not believe in Endless Punishment; they aver that the Old Testament does not teach that doctrine; and they think it strange, if the New Testament be "*the* BETTER covenant," that so cruel a doctrine should have its origin there.

II. The fact here communicated by Mr. S. seems fully confirmed by the following extract from a work published in London, in 1744. It was a correspondence between certain Jews scattered abroad, on various subjects, in which, among others, the doctrine of endless punishment came up. The following is deeply worthy the consideration of the candid reader:

Some time ago, dear Isaac, I gave thee my opinion concerning the notion that all people are damned, who have not the good fortune to be born within the pale of Israel. I confessed to thee that I could not believe that an infinite number of good people, who have in their religion conformed to the precepts of the soundest morality, who have obeyed the internal legislator, that is to say, the dictates of their conscience, and the impressions of natural reason, could be damned. I founded my opinion on the goodness and justice of God, to the very essence of which attributes, the everlasting misery of innocent creatures is directly contrary. I frankly declare to thee that upon this goodness, and this same justice I would gladly establish a second principle, viz., that the pains of the damned will not

be eternal; and that after a certain number of ages, the souls condemned to the torments of the damned, will be cleansed and purified from their sins, by the pains which they have endured.

How can it be conceived that God should condemn millions of creatures to everlasting misery? For by admitting that man, who had the free-will of committing good or evil, has given occasion to the Deity to punish him eternally, and that justice being a quality as essential to the Supreme Being as goodness, the everlasting punishment of the damned were a just punishment, it does not clear up the difficulty in question, because God having it at his option to purge men from transgression by temporary pains, it is to be supposed that he ought to choose the latter. The notion which I have of clemency (a notion which I could not be mistaken in entertaining, because it is conformable to the light of nature, and comes to me from God), evidently convincing me that it is unjust, when it is possible to put an end to the torments of an unhappy person, to prolong them eternally without a lawful cause. Now there is none at all for the rendering damnation eternal. I would fain ask the Jewish, Nazarene and Mahometan doctors, who are alike positive in the point of the eternal misery of creatures, whether God could not, if he thought fit, order it so that the pains which souls suffer after the destruction of the body, should render them pure and worthy to come into his presence. There is no Divine, I believe, of any religion whatsoever, that will dare to make answer, that the Almighty cannot blot out the stains of a soul, be they ever so deep. Let such a one be who or what he will, he must be deemed either an Atheist, who sets limits to the power of the Deity, and who by consequence would gladly annihilate it; or an idiot who has not the least notion of sound philosophy, or even of the general ideas of order. Now putting the case that the punishment which a man suffers, though ever so much deserved, does not render him a jot the more virtuous, and that at the same time it is in the power of another to inflict lesser penance upon him, which shall restore him to his innocence and give him a hatred of vice; I would know of the divines, what ought to be done in such a case, and what would be the dictate of clemency? Every man in his senses cannot help confessing, that the latter method ought to be preferred. Now since it is in the power of God to put an end to the pains of the damned, and since he can render those pains, useful and advantageous to them, why should anybody think that he renders them everlasting and unavailable, and that he should do ill, when it is in his power to do good? Is it not an absurdity to maintain and believe, that sovereign justice can be for injustice?

But some will say, you judge of the attributes of the infinite Being, by those of finite creatures. You are for diving to the very bottom of God's clemency, and can have no idea of it. This objection is false, and is the very basis and foundation of all the absurdities of the schools. For I grant that I can have no entire and perfect idea of the celestial clemency. But the notion I have of it is not a wrong and fallacious one, because it is agreeable to reason, which being the only light that the divinity has granted for my con-

duct, cannot mislead me. If things which pass with men for the most just and equitable, are unjust in the sight of God, there is an end of all certainty, and all is confusion. What will be deemed virtue, may be vice; we shall entertain no notion suitable to the attributes of the supreme Being, and it must be said that we have no idea of him consistent with those which we are furnished with by the light of nature. For as soon as it is granted that the same notions which I entertain of goodness and clemency, may be ascribed to the goodness and clemency of heaven, I shall from thence, therefore, plainly conclude, that nothing whatsoever, repugnant to those ideas, can have existence in the attributes of God. Now I am clearly convinced, that it is contrary to the invisible wisdom to inflict everlasting and unavailable punishments, when they may be rendered short and useful. Surely, therefore, God, in whose power it was to render the torments of the damned useful and temporary, could not choose to render them everlasting and useless, because God, being sovereignly wise, always acts conformably to wisdom.

Our sacred books assure us, dear Isaac, in several places, that God will not always chide, nor will he keep his anger forever. Why, therefore, should cruelty be ascribed to him, which is a principle directly contrary to his essence? If any expressions in Scripture seem to favor the notion of everlasting damnation, it is where a meaning is put upon them which they do not carry, and where they are not interpreted as they ought. Into what absurdities should we not fall, were we to explain all the passages of the Bible literally?

The Nazarene doctors who establish their opinion of everlasting punishment on the precise terms of their sacred books, have no better foundation for it than our Rabbis have; for they own that sometimes the literal sense of certain expressions must not be adhered to. Why then don't they interpret those words of *everlasting fire*, and *endless torments*, in such a manner as does not hurt the idea we have of the Divine mercy? To this they answer, that the justice of God is an attribute which is as essential to his being as his mercy, and that his justice demands the punishment of faults. But this answer is another evasion: For as his justice is capable of being satisfied by a temporary punishment, it ought not to demand an everlasting one. And the question again recurs to this point, viz., whether it was not in the power of God, that the most enormous, sins should be expiated by temporary torments? Undoubtedly he that is Almighty had it in his power; and therefore he has so ordered it, because he always does what is best, most charitable, most mild, most merciful; and because it is more agreeable to clemency and mercy to inflict temporary punishments, than such as should never have an end."[1]

[1] See the work entitled, "The Jewish Spy," being a philosophical, historical and critical correspondence by letters, which lately passed between certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France," &c. Translated from the original into French by the Marquis D'Argens, and now done into English, 2d edition, London, 1744. The extract above given is from Letter XLIII.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN SWEDEN.

I. The doctrine of the final happiness of all men has been preached in Sweden. We find this fact fully verified by a publication made by Rev. I. D. Williamson, D. D., in 1850. Dr. W.'s letter was written from Louisville, Ky., and was addressed to the editor of the "Star in the West." The Dr. said:

Shortly after my arrival in this city, I had an introduction to a Swedish gentleman, who has since been an attentive, and apparently most happy listener to my preaching. Yesterday, he called on me, and gave me the following account of himself.

He was born in Sweden, and received a good education. At the age of about twenty years, his attention was turned, with deep interest to the subject of religion. To use his own language, he felt that "his soul was sick, and needed to be healed." He applied to his minister, but obtained no aid or relief. He then turned his attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Alone and unaided, he perused the word of God, and prayed for the light of truth, and the result was, a full conviction of the "restitution of all things." This blessed truth he could not conceal, and he accordingly commenced proclaiming it to his neighbors and friends. The more he preached, the more they desired to hear, and large congregations often listened to the word. So gladly did the people hear the good tidings, that on one occasion, at an evening meeting, they would not leave the house, but giving him intervals for rest, while they sung, they kept him talking until morning. No "small stir," was made, and the regular clergy, after having in vain endeavored to silence him by argument, appealed to the arm of the law. He was arrested

on a charge of preaching doctrines subversive of religion, and cast into prison where he remained eleven months.

During this time he was six times arraigned before the court; and declining to employ counsel, plead his own cause. His defence was that he preached nothing but what he found in the word of God, and this he was allowed to show at length. He informed me that through all his defence, he planted himself upon those two positions. 1. God is one and undivided. 2. God is Love. These he sustained by the clearest testimonies of the word. From the first position, he dealt his blows at the doctrine of vicarious atonement and kindred errors; and from the second he argued the reconciliation of all things; inasmuch as it was impossible that Infinite Love should cast off forever, or doom any being to endless torments. The court heard with astonishment, and remanded him to prison; being unable to determine what was their duty, in regard to this new doctrine. A commissioner from the crown was appointed to examine. He was an old man of seventy years who listened to his arguments for some time and then said, sir, if we talk much longer, I shall believe as you do. His case was then referred to the Bishop, and before him and fifteen clergymen, he had an opportunity to speak for himself. The result was that after eleven months of imprisonment, he was set at liberty and received from the crown a license to travel and preach where ever he pleased. Here his legal troubles ended, but not so his other annoyances and persecutions. Those who attached themselves to him were continually arrested, and imprisoned, and though he could obtain their release by exhibiting his license, and making oath that their religion was the same as his; yet such was the difficulty and trouble in which he involved others, that he determined to leave his native land, and go where the law could not interfere with a free expression of opinion.

He came accordingly to this country, and has been for a short time in this city. Recently, a friend invited him to our church, and then, for the first time in his life, and to his great surprise and joy, he heard that doctrine preached, which he had long loved, so well, and for which he had suffered so much. To him, it was, as cool water to the thirsty soul; and eagerly did he drink in the word. He called on me, saying, in his broken English, "My heart is so full that I could not wait longer." Very recently, he has been called to drink the cup of affliction in the death of his wife. "My heavenly Father, said he, has called me to pass through a dark place, in taking from me my blessed wife. He has left me alone; but not comfortless, for I know it is his will, and what he does is best."

He is a man of fine intellect, and more than ordinary intelligence. His religious feelings seem deep and ardent; and his conscience tender, and quick, in a remarkable degree. He has read many religious books; but not one word in advocacy and defence of Universalism, except the Bible; and to this day has drawn all his ideas of that doctrine from the oracles of divine truth. He regrets much that he cannot speak upon the subject, in public, except in his native tongue which there are few in this country to understand.

I have been greatly interested in the man; and have written this outline of his experience, as nearly as I can recollect it, as it came from his lips. Aside from this, however, there are one or two lessons taught, that are worthy of being remembered. We have here some evidence, that when a man goes to the Bible with an unprejudiced mind, for the purpose of learning what it teaches, he is very apt to find Universalism there. Here is a man who never heard of Universalism, nor had the remotest hint that such a sentiment had an advocate on earth. He sat down to the careful and prayerful perusal of the Sacred Scriptures, and to his great joy, he finds here the glorious tidings of the "restitution of all things." Will those who so roundly assert, that Universalism is utterly destitute of support from the Scriptures, inform us how this man happened to find it in a Bible printed in the Swedish tongue.

Again, this shows us how gladly the men of every nation will listen, and how eagerly they will embrace the doctrine of the restitution, when left to follow the generous impulses of their souls. So rich, and so new, were the truths proclaimed by our friend that the people hung with rapture upon his words from evening to the dawn of morning.

I notice one more fact, as somewhat significant, Lutheranism is the established religion of Sweden; and non-conformity to that, is an offence cognizable by law. But an attempt to convict a Universalist under the law, failed. The bishop and the court decided, and the king himself issued the decree that a Universalist might freely preach in Sweden without "let or hindrance." Mark that, among the signs of the times.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER XII.

PRINCE MUSKAU, A UNIVERSALIST.

I. We scarcely know where to place this excellent Prince. The great and good Goethe calls him "a perfect and experienced man of the world, endowed with talents, and with a quick apprehension, formed by a varied social existence, by travel and extensive connections; likewise a thorough, liberal-minded German, versed in literature and art."

That this distinguished Prince was a Universalist, we have the clearest evidence, from several passages in his "*Tour in England, Ireland and France.*" In some philosophical lucubrations on the education of conscience, the state of man on the earth, and the consequences of death, he reasons thus: "May it not, then, be the last and highest act of mercy and eternal love, to have appointed death as a means of wiping out the confused and blotted scrawl, and restoring the troubled, misguided soul to the condition of a pure white sheet, ready for happier trials? All-loving justice punishes not as weak man punishes," &c. p. 121.

While in Ireland, Prince Muskau, encountered a lady of high birth, and her daughter, who were in a fierce controversy about the "*judgment day*," which they agreed must be near at hand. The question was, whether at this final catastrophe men were to be immediately *judged* and then

burnt, or first *burnt* and then *judged*. The daughter said it was clear that the world could not be *burnt* till all were *judged*. The mother declared this was perfect "*nonsense*" —that men must first die before they could receive their eternal destinies. She therefore insisted, "first *burnt* and then *judged*." "At length," says Prince, "both appealed to me. I ventured to reply that I really was not much skilled in these details, and that their dispute appeared to me very like that in which Madame du Deffant was called upon to decide, viz., whether St. Denis had walked one mile without his head. That I must confess that in the doctrines of Christ I had always chiefly sought to imbibe rules of duty, confidence in God, meekness and love to man. That I believed whatever God did was perfectly done. I must confess that I considered myself just as much in the hand of God, and just as near his power, in the present life, as after the close of my earthly career. The judgment was in my opinion forever going on, and was eternally active as the spirit which creates and vivifies the universe." p. 450.

We must have one more extract. In conversation with an English divine, he says, "I do not, therefore, contest your miracles, nor your symbols; I contest only certain other things, which many of you teach, and which are equally incomprehensible to the understanding and repugnant to the heart; for instance, a God more partial than the frailest man; infinite torments appointed by infinite love, for finite sins; such things can be possible only when two and two make five, and no superstition can approach the insanity of such a belief." p. 141.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN DENMARK.

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSON.

I. This distinguished Danish poet and scholar, whose writings are the delight of Denmark, is not generally known as a Universalist. Yet in his Autobiography he apprises his readers of the fact. On p. 215 of the "True Story of my Life," he says, —

> "Yet is it not so hard as people deem
> To see their souls' beloved from them riven;
> God has their dear ones, and in death they seem
> To form a bridge which leads them up to heaven."

Again, on p. 296, he says, "My whole life, the bright as well as the gloomy days, led to the best. It is like a voyage to some known point — I stand at the rudder, I have chosen my path — but God rules the storm and the sea. He may direct it otherwise; and then happen what may, *it will be the best for me. This faith is firmly planted in my breast and makes me happy.*"

He declares, p. 77, — "*I received gladly, both with feeling and understanding, the doctrine, that God is love; everything which opposes this* — A BURNING HELL, THEREFORE, WHOSE FIRE ENDURETH FOREVER — *I could not recognize.*"

BOOK V.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

I. As early as 1850, the Universalist papers of the United States had proclaimed that there was a movement in favor of Universalism among the best citizens of New South Wales.

It seems that the Rev. Mr. Saunders, at first a Baptist clergyman at Sydney, afterward preached the doctrine of a world's salvation. He is described as a man of vast benevolence, and of great talents. The intelligence was communicated to the "Universalist Union," by a gentleman of Lockport, N. Y., who received it directly from New South Wales. The following is the account:

Mr. John Chubbuck, now a resident of Lockport, recently returned from the islands of New Holland and New Zealand, where he resided for several years as a state and missionary printer. Mr. C. is a member of the Baptist Church, although a recent convert to Universalism.

II. During his residence at Sydney or Port Jackson, in New Holland, he became an attendant upon the Baptist Church, under the pastorship of Rev. J. Saunders, an Englishman by birth, educated at Oxford. He is represented as a man of unusual talents and attainments, being the greatest orator and scholar, and commanding the most popular audience in the city of Sydney. At his own expense, after his arrival at New Holland, he built a fine meeting-house, established a school of arts, gave lectures himself, and opened a free library for the general benefit, and formed an institution for the defence and education of the poor. The influence he excited was wide and beneficent, and his unbounded liberality and benevolence elicited universal confidence, respect and admiration.

The wife of Mr. Saunders is described as a lady of superior ex-

cellence, and possessing a mind entirely congenial with that of Mr. S. himself. Charity seems the whole object of her being, and much of her time is spent in visiting, relieving and condoling with the sick, the poor and the unfortunate. Her mission is like that of an angel of mercy, on that dark and benighted isle, dispensing glad news and welcome blessings. She has endeared herself to all who know her for her heavenly charities, and is respected for her intelligence.

Mr. Saunders had been laboring as a Baptist minister in Sydney about ten years, up to 1842. But his preaching was of a character too exalted ever to admit of the too common topics of wrath and endless damnation. He usually dwelt upon the sublimer views of the divine government, and savored much of Universalism, until his mind at last become intently fixed upon a closer examination of the subject. The result of his labors was an entire renunciation of the doctrine of endless misery and a cordial reception of the doctrine of impartial benevolence. This was sometime in the year, 1842. He gave no notice of his recantation, but having fully matured the subject in his own mind, prepared a discourse to be delivered on a Sunday afternoon. In the morning he preached from the text, "God is love," and carried the hearts and minds of his audience out into the illimitable ocean of divine beneficence, as if to prepare them for the glorious intelligence he was about to communicate.

The afternoon came, and he took for his text, "Not willing that any should perish," &c. He opened the theme in a most impressive style, and as he launched out, the fire of his eloquence warmed up and thrilled upon the hearts of his hearers. He bore them along with irresistible evidence, and riveted their attention with deep interest. He preached with that holy enthusiasm which kept his auditors in perpetual intensity. The effect of his renunciation, after the first pause of interest was over, was electric. Most of his church and congregation had been so unconsciously led along by his usual labors that they readily united with him in the new public position he had assumed.

The secular and the orthodox papers of Sydney, visited Mr. S. and his doctrine with all manner of abuse and misrepresentation. The intelligence reaching England, Mr. S. was excommunicated by the English Baptist Church, and was compelled to give up his gown. But the best part of his people adhered to him, and maintained an independent church. Yet the moral character of Mr. S., and all that he had done for his fellow citizens did not spare him from the darkest calumnies and the grossest misrepresentations. His sentiments were so foully distorted, that he was at last compelled to publish his discourse in his own defence. This produced a calm of the clamorous uproar, and no answer was attempted. Some of the clergy were eager for controversy and sanguine of their ability to silence Mr. S. But he met them coolly, in the spirit of his Master, and they were ready to abandon the field of argument and evidence after the first trial, until comparative peace was restored and the new "sect every where spoken against" was permitted to go on in harmony.

BOOK VI.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ENGLAND.

I. At the close of our fourth Book, we had brought the History of Universalism in England, up to the middle of the 18th century. (1750.) There we availed ourself of the opportunity to introduce an account of the prevalence of that doctrine in other countries, so far as we had been able to trace it; and having, in the fifth Book, finished what we have to say on those parts of the subject, we resume again the History as it relates to England.

II. We have now approached a period in which Universalism prevailed to a very great extent, finding patrons among the obscure and the well known, the unlearned and the literati; indeed some of almost every sect seem to have united their efforts to illustrate and defend this cheering doctrine. On the one hand we see the ardent believer, whose bosom is warmed into action by his faith, but whose timidity renders him unable to meet the anticipated odium, sending forth his anonymous publications to convince others of the truth of the doctrine he himself has not the courage to avow; on the other we see the bolder and more successful defender, adding to the force of his arguments the authority of his learning, his office, and his name. Here the divine, with gravity, with moderation, and with

great firmness, asserts the reality of God's universal love and the salvation of all men, and enforces from such doctrines the most fervent piety to God, and the most unrestricted benevolence to man; there the man of letters, the pride and accomplishment of his age, lends the vivacity of his genius, the strength of his attainments, and the elegance of his diction, to the illustration and support of the same sentiment. At one time our attention is arrested by the visionary who, with a fervid imagination and transported heart, seizes the enrapturing theme, and expatiates till he is lost in the delirium of joy; at another we see the cool philosopher, who, commencing the examination of the doctrine with doubt, at last arrives at faith and certainty; we see his steady soul lifted up from the world by the influences of such a faith; he lives above terrestrial things in a higher sphere; and his incontrovertible arguments, like the fixed stars, shed their light upon the dark world below Piety, benevolence, philosophy, wit and literature assisted, during this period, in the defence of Universalism. Some of the greatest men in the established church, united their labors with those equally great among the dissenters. Of one sect at least, although not bearing the name of Universalists, it became a principal tenet, and was defended by the greater part of its ablest men. Such is a general view of the character and circumstances of those who defended Universalism during this period; and it fully sustains the following passage from the pen of the editor of the Analytical Review: "The doctrine of the final happiness of mankind, which presents the prospect of the termination of all evil, and of a period in which the deep shades of misery and guilt which have so long enveloped the universe, shall be forever dispelled, is so pleasing a speculation to a benevolent mind, that we do not wonder it meets with *so many* advocates. From the earliest period we doubt not the belief of it has been secretly entertained by many, who in the face of opposition

and danger, had not resolution to avow it. Now, however, it has broke through *every* restraint, and walks abroad in *every* form that is adapted to convince the philosophic, to rouse the unthinking, and to melt the tender."[1]

III. To arrange a mass of materials possessing so great a variety, has been found no easy task. We must, in some respects, relinquish the regular order of time, preserving it so far as it is consistent with the arrangement of the subjects now before us into four general heads, viz. 1. The anonymous defenders of Universalism. 2. Those who may be said to have laid down the principles whence it flows, and who have admitted rather than defended it. 3. Those who have directly and elaborately maintained it. And 4. The English Unitarians, nearly all of whose principal men have defended that sentiment.[2] It should be premised, however, that it will be impossible, in the limits which we have prescribed ourself, to give of every Universalist a distinct account, neither can we speak much in detail. No man ever felt more keenly than we do in this place, the want of the power of abridgement.

IV. "An Essay on the Divine Paternity, or God the Father of Men," was one of the works in which Universalism was defended. The author is to us utterly unknown. The work came out in September, 1741. Having in several sections stated the true and proper relation which the Deity bears to mankind, he draws from his subject, under the form of corollaries, several speculative and practical truths, as follows. He says:

"3. *The final destruction and misery of any of the offspring of God must be highly ungrateful to him.*" "His character, re-

[1] Analytical Review, Dec. 1788, vol. ii. 450.

[2] To these the Necessarians, as a fifth class, might be added, but as those who were Christians, and who held to the salvation of all men, are generally included among the Unitarians, we pass them over without any further notice.

lation, interest and concern in mankind, absolutely forbid us to think that any are hated of him, from the first moment of their existence; or that he (the Father of mercies and God of all comfort) can behold with satisfaction and pleasure, the final miscarriage and everlasting tortures of his offspring; the dens of *lions*, and *nurseries* of *wolves* know no such cruelty as this."

"4. *If there be a possibility of preventing the final misery and destruction of any of mankind, by reclaiming them from their degeneracy, there is a sufficient reason, from the nature of that relation they bear to God, to think that he will do it.*" "We must remember that with God all things are possible. He has knowledge, wisdom and power, as well as goodness and love; and what implies not a *contradiction*, he can effect." "As for the words *eternal* and *everlasting* in Scripture, they are well known to signify such a duration only as is proper to the subject spoken of—as the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession, the everlasting mountains, &c.

The Gentleman's Magazine (vol. xiv. 56) mentions a book that came out in January, 1744, "All men to be finally saved." It was a small work. We have no knowledge who was the author.

"The Free Will Offering or the Love of God, recorded in the Redemption of all Mankind, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," appeared in London, 1747.

The work commences, under this title, "The Benefits which are to be recorded of Jesus Christ, as he is offered to be the Saviour of all mankind."

"As by the offence of one, *judgment came* upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, *the free gift came* upon all men unto justification of life."

"The mercy and infinite goodness of God has chosen all mankind to salvation in Jesus Christ, before the foundation of the world. Now this eternal decree took place upon the fall of Adam; and as he was admitted into the

terms of Christian salvation immediately after his transgression, so all mankind as being in his loins, were taken into the same covenant of grace." pp. 1, 2. This work contains large extracts from Wm. Law.

Another work appeared soon after, entitled, "A Specimen of True Theology." The work was anonymous. The object was to establish the doctrine of *Universal Salvation.* The argument is rested on the testimony of the Scriptures, viewed in the light of "that most certain test of all religious truth, namely, the *unity* and *concord* of all God's attributes."[1]

The work mentioned in the preceding chapter, *Le Ciel ouvert a tous les Hommes,*[2] was the occasion of a brief controversy about 1750. A few years before this (i. e. in 1743) it had been translated and republished in England, and met with the approbation of many, particularly of a person who published the "Layman's Letter to his friend in the Country," which, in defence of the work, attempted to show that the author admitted a punishment after death. Several works appeared on both sides, evincing the interest which the public felt on the subject.[3] A second edition of this work was published in October, 1766, and was recommended by the editors of the Critical Review, as "a benevolent and sensible production, well calculated to prevent the minds of weak and ignorant, though pious and well meaning persons, from being plunged into the horrors of despair, by the pernicious doctrines of some modern enthusiasts."

[1] The whole title was, A Specimen of True Theology, or Bible Divinity; in which the Benefits of Christ's Redemption [are] made known, fairly and plainly from the Holy Scriptures alone," &c. London, 1758. pp. 176, 8vo.

[2] That is "Heaven open to all men."

[3] The work "Heaven open to all men," created no little attention, and drew out the following works:

In 1752. "A Candid Examination of that celebrated piece of Sophistry entitled, "Heaven open to all men." "This small piece" (says the Monthly Review) "is written with great modesty." Review, volume vi. 313.

In 1753. A short answer to a Treatise, entitled "Heaven open to all

The writer of this last review says, that "Heaven open to all men," was reprinted with alterations from a noted pamphlet, which first made its appearance about *twenty years* ago.[1]

The leading object of this treatise (Cuppe's) is to prove that "All men shall be saved." He proves this from the Scriptures and especially from the 5th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. He proves it also from reason. "Right reason," he says, "teaches us that God will save all men, in general and in particular;" only Anti-Christ is to be destroyed. Several of the last chapters of the work are devoted to answering objections. He did not understand the system of Universalism well. Evidently he had read nothing on the subject except the Bible; and he had also employed upon it his deepest thoughts. He found, as he believed, a great truth, which had been hidden from ages and generations. He says, in closing, "God will separate us from the old man, to place us in his kingdom; where, without excepting one single man, he will be, as St. Paul says, All in All. Disconsolate Nature finds in this treatise a treasure that was lost, — HEAVEN OPEN TO ALL MEN. A verity that for ages has lain hid! At length, it is found. Men and angels, sing to the Eternal, immortal praises." Mr. Cuppe evidently supposed he was the discoverer of the doctrine; and that he was the first to make it known to the world, although it had been known to the church from the time of Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, and even from that of the apostles.

Simultaneously with the controversy just mentioned, appeared a work in favor of Universalism, entitled "The Great Love and Tenderness of God to his Creature Man; or the Scripture account of the Redemption, Conversion and Salvation of all mankind."[2] It appeared about 1753.

men." By Vincent Perronet, A. M., Vicar of Shoreham, in Kent, and chaplain to the Right Hon. Earl Stanhope.

[1] The reprint was in 1766.

[2] The whole title was, "The great love and tenderness of God to his

"I have for many years," says the author, "been of opinion, that the most terrifying and amazing doctrine of the future torments of the wicked, being strictly and properly eternal, could no where be proved from the gracious gospel of Jesus Christ, so full of the glad tidings of mercy and peace; no, nor from any one text or passage of holy writ, in its true and genuine sense. And this opinion has been greatly strengthed by a frequent searching, studying, comparing and meditating on the holy Scriptures." He was conversant also with the books which had been written in favor of Universalism, particularly the second volume of Miss Huber's "World Unmasked," and the work of which we have just spoken, "Heaven open to all men."

He held to the future punishment of those who died impenitent, which might extend to a very long duration; but eventually they would be delivered from it, and admitted, not to full and perfect bliss, but to the *lowest* mansion in the kingdom of God. Aside from the peculiarities of his system, he reasons judiciously, and with great candor examines the objections to Universalism, and clearly shows that the passages of Scripture on which the opposite doctrine has been based, have been tortured from their proper meaning. He was evidently a man of learning.

"A Rhapsody of Free Thoughts; exhibiting in new light, various interesting subjects." 8vo. pp. 100. This is in four parts. In the fourth part he treats of the duration of hell torments. Speaking of 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28, he says:

"But though I think, that this passage in that epistle,

Creature Man, or the Scripture account of the redemption, conversion and salvation of all mankind. Wherein is discovered that the torments of the wicked must have an ending; that every individual of mankind is already redeemed in part; so that the rational soul or spirit of every sinner, after suffering in proportion to his deserts, will be converted, delivered out of torment, and be finally saved in a low degree: and that the whole man of the righteous, who have lived a virtuous and godly life will be sanctified wholly, both in soul and in body; will be raised a glorious body; and be abundantly saved, and rewarded at the last day, and shall not suffer pain after death." By a Searcher after Religious Truth. It was an octavo of 344 pages.

favors the opinion thought to have been Origen's, yet it must be confessed, that it is not probable, that it was the purpose of St. Paul's writing it, to have inculcated this opinion; but I hold it might be, and believe it was impressed in the fervor of his own ideas and delivered by his pen, (that generation perhaps inattentive to the consequences) and so scattered, to become a light to those in ages then to come, who more intent upon the attribute of mercy, than that of justice, should search those divine oracles, for arguments to prove to themselves and to others, that it is an internal truth, that the mercy of God is over all his works." [1]

VI. Among the authors who have admitted the doctrine of Universalism, and laid down the principles from which it flows, we may reckon the well known William Law, author of the Serious Call; Dr. Steed,[2] Wm. Duncombe, a writer of eminence; Soame Jenyns; Henry Brooke, in the Fool of Quality; Dr. Kippis; the Monthly and Critical Review-

[1] See Monthly Review for April, 1751, vol. iv. pp. 423.

[2] Rev. John Tyler, in his work entitled "Universal Damnation and Salvation," (written and published many years ago, but we quote from an edition published by T. Bedlington, Boston, 1826,) speaks of a reverend divine of the church of England as follows:

Dr. Steed, a clergyman of the Church of England, who died a few years ago, and was greatly admired as a preacher, in most parts of England, styled by late writers, the ingenious Dr. Steed, in a sermon which he delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral Church in London, speaking upon the Redemption, has these words:

"*Our Saviour laid down his life for the sins of the whole world; he came, that as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive; that as by one man's disobedience many*, the many, or mankind in general, *were made sinners*, treated as such, and made subject to death, the wages of sin; so by the obedience of one many were made righteous."

Again, speaking of Christ, says he,

"The sphere of his beneficence extended backwards to the foundation of the world, and reaches forward to the last conflagration; he became the Saviour of all ages, from the first birth of time to its last period—the Father of mankind, from the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same. The blessings of his coming into the world are as extensive as the world, and as lasting as eternity." Says he, "Behold the Son of God, pouring forth his blood, as well as prayers, even for those that shed it; behold him at once bearing the insults, expiating the sins, and procuring happiness for mankind, till at last he bows his sacred head, and shuts up the solemn scene, with these short but comprehensive words, IT

ers; the celebrated George Walker; the equally celebrated Robert Robinson; Archdeacon Paley, of the English Church; Hey, the Cambridge professor of divinity, Letsone, the philanthropist, and others.

VII. The opinions of William Law underwent a considerable change in the latter part of his life. At first he was not a Universalist; but afterward the views he entertained were these: "that all the attributes of the Almighty are only modifications of his love, and that when, in Scripture, his wrath, vengeance, &c., are spoken of, such expressions are only used in condescension to human weakness, by way of adapting the subject of the mysterious workings of God's providence to human capacities. He held, therefore, that God punishes no one. All evil, according to his creed, originates either from matter, or from

IS FINISHED—the great, the stupendous work is done. The universal sacrifice which shall take in all mankind, and which all mankind shall contemplate throughout eternity with awful joy and gratitude, is completed; the benefit of whose actions and sufferings reaches to all ages, all nations, all mankind. Our Saviour was a person born for the whole world, for which he died, a blessing to all mankind, from the beginning of time, and whom all mankind shall have reason to bless, when time shall be no more."

You may depend on it, that these words were preached in St. Paul's church in London; so that as a Church Clergyman I am not teaching a doctrine which is contrary to what is or ever has been taught by all the rest of the clergy of the Church of England. I do not know that I ever said anything that more strongly points out the salvation of all men, than these words of Dr. Steed, I have just now recited, though I must now confess, that in some other passages of his sermons, he says what seems inconsistent with those passages I recited; but what I did recite he no doubt said. But I am supposed to differ from the whole body of the Christian Church, for seventeen hundred years. I answer, this would be a melancholy consideration indeed, if it were true. But can the tradition of the whole body of the Christian church, make void the gospel, the everlasting covenant of God's peace? but then, the tradition or opinion of the Christian church pretty universally for a thousand years out of this seventeen hundred, has been in favor of popery; therefore, if the opinion of the body of the Christian church is a sure proof of what is the true meaning of Scripture, then surely we ought all to become Roman Catholics immediately, for popery has the opinion of the whole body of the church pretty universally in its favor for ten hundred years, and the main body of the Christian church against her, for no more than about seven hundred years.

the free will of man; and if there be suffering, it is not that God wills it in itself, but that he permits it, (for the sake of a greater overbalance of good, that could not otherwise possibly be produced) as the necessary consequence of the existence of an inert instrument like Matter, and the imperfection of creatures less pure than himself. Upon his system, all beings will finally be happy. He utterly rejected the doctrine of the Atonement, as held by Calvinists, and ridiculed the supposition, that the offended justice of the One Perfect Supreme Being requires any satisfaction. His theory was, that man, by withdrawing himself from God, had lost the Divine life in his soul, and that all communication between him and his Maker was nearly lost. In order to remedy this, in order in some mysterious way to re-open an intercourse between the Deity and the soul of man; and finally, in order to afford the soul a more near, and, as it were, sensible perception of its Maker, the Second Person in the Trinity became man. Law alleges that St. Paul, when he speaks of redemption, says, *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.* Now, he adds, had the Almighty required an atonement, the reverse of this proposition would have been the truth, and the phrase would have been *reconciling himself to the world.*" [1]

Still more satisfactory testimony on this point may be given in Law's own words. In a letter to a friend he says, "you tell me that you cannot help thinking with Mr. S.[2] that all partial systems of salvation are greatly derogatory to the goodness of God, but that you would say this to very few but myself. But, dear soul, why should you say this to me? I have, without any scruple, openly declared to all the world, that from eternity to eternity nothing can come from God but mere infinite love. In how

[1] Southey's Life of Wesley, New York edition, vol. i. 216.

[2] Stonehouse, perhaps.

many ways have I proved and asserted, that there neither is nor can be any wrath or partiality in God; but that every creature must have all that happiness which the infinite love and power of God can help it to." "It is my capital doctrine that God is all love, and merely a will to all goodness; that he must eternally will that to the creature which he willed at his creation." "As for the purification *of all human nature*, I fully believe it, either in this world, or some after ages. And as to that of angels, if it is possible, I am glad of it, and also sure enough, that it will then come to pass." [1]

As a preacher among the dissenters, Law possessed great influence; and the doctrines he believed, were powerfully enforced by the meekness and sanctity of his life, and by his mild and inoffensive manners. Serenity, gratitude and happiness were the constant inmates of his heart; and all his conversation, his preaching, and writing, partook of the depth of his emotions. In the triumphs of faith, and universally esteemed, he died in 1761.

VIII. Mr. William Duncombe, a man of letters, and a writer of considerable eminence, flourished from 1730 until his death in 1769. Among his friends and correspondents he reckoned Lord Coke and Archbishop Herring, a volume of whose sermons he edited. He was the author of a tragedy entitled Lucius Junius Brutus. One of his particular correspondents was the Rev. Samuel Say, a dissenting minister, who succeeded Dr. Calamy at Westminster. Say's mind had a strong tendency to a belief of Universalism, though he never fully embraced that sentiment. Ex-

1 Law's Collection of Letters, London edition, 1762. Letter xii. pp. 172–175. His principal works were "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call," works prized by the orthodox to the present day. Southey says of them, "few books have ever made so many religious enthusiasts; indeed the youth who should read them without being perilously effected, must have either a light mind, or an unusually strong one." Life of Wesley, i. 38.

pressing his queries and doubts to Mr. Duncombe, the latter replied, in a letter dated May 27, 1743, as follows.

"Perhaps all those natural evils, or moral obliquities, of which we so grievously complain, may be no stronger objection to the rectitude of the whole system, than hills and mountains are to the rotundity of the globe; and may answer various excellent purposes, though we are too short sighted to discover them. Vindictive justice, in the Deity, is, I own, no article in my creed. All punishment in the hands of an infinitely wise and good being, I think, must be medicinal, and what we call chastisement." "What St. Paul speaks more directly of the reconciliation both of Jews and Gentiles to God, I am willing to understand in a more extensive sense, of the general redemption of mankind, at the consummation of all things."[1] He then quotes the following passage from Milton's Mask of Comus, as comprising, in his view, the marrow of theology.

"Against the threats
Of malice, or of sorcery, or that power
Which erring men call chance, this I hold firm,
Virtue may be assailed but never hurt,
Surpris'd by unjust force but not enthral'd;
Yea, even that which mischief meant most harm,
Shall in the happy trial prove most glory.
But evil on itself shall back recoil,
And mix no more with goodness, when at last
Gather'd like scum and settled to itself,
It shall be in eternal, restless change
Self-fed and self-consum'd,—if this fail
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
And earth's base built on stubble."

IX. Nearly allied to Duncombe, in time, in feeling, and in sentiment, we may place the renowned philosopher and metaphysician, the mild and beloved moralist, Soame

[1] Hughes' Correspondence, ii. 156. Month. Repos. vii. 492.

Jenyns. He was educated at St. John's College, and in 1741, was elected member of Parliament for Cambridge, which he represented for nearly forty years. In 1755,[1] he was made one of the Lords of Trade, and continued so until the abolition of the board. As a writer, he is to be prized for the elegance of his diction, the purity of his sentiments, and his sparkling humor. To the cause of Christianity he rendered an essential service by his Internal View of its evidences, a work which the highest ecclesiastics have referred to and quoted with a freedom that shows the high estimation in which they held it. Jenyns was a Necessarian, and regarded what men generally call evil as a component part of the great system of things; and by the effects he attributed to it, he excluded *real* evil from the universe. From everything known by this name he deduced some benevolent end, not excepting death itself, which he looked on as one of the causes of happiness to mankind. "Death, the last and most dreadful of all evils," says he, "is so far from being an evil, that it is the infallible cure of all others.

> To die is landing on some silent shore,
> Where billows never beat, nor tempests roar;
> Ere well we feel the friendly stroke 'tis o'er.—*Garth.*

Abstracted from the sickness and sufferings usually attending it, death is no more than the expiration of that term of life God was pleased to bestow on us, without any claim or merit on our part. But was it an evil ever so great, it could not be remedied but by one much greater, which is by living forever; by which means our wickedness, unrestrained by the prospects of a future state, would grow so insupportable, our sufferings so intolerable by perseverance, and our pleasures so tiresome by repetition,

[1] In the latter part of the year, 1753, appeared three sermons on "the necessity for and the nature of a future state of rewards and punishment," by Thomas Waterhouse, lecturer at the parish church of St. George, the martyr. He defended the endless duration of punishment.

that no being in the universe could be so completely miserable as a species of immortal men. We have therefore no reason to look upon death as an evil, or to fear it as a punishment, even without any supposition of a future life; but if we consider it as a passage to a more perfect state, or a remove only in an eternal succession of still improving states, (for which we have the strongest reasons) it will then appear a new favor from the divine munificence; and a man must be as absurd to repine at dying, as a traveller would be, who proposed to himself a delightful tour through various unknown countries, to lament that he cannot take up his residence at the first dirty inn which he baits at on the road.[1]

The following beautiful extracts, on the character and purposes of Providence, the duty and interest of man, much in the style of Pope's Essay on man, are so full of truth, happily expressed, that they deserve to be written in characters of gold:

"For his own sake no duty God can ask,
The common welfare is our only task;
For this sole end his precepts, kind as just,
Forbid intemperance, murder, theft and lust,
With every act injurious to our own
Or others good, for such are crimes alone;
For this are peace, love, charity, enjoined,
With all that can secure and bless mankind.
This is the public safety Virtue's cause,
And happiness the end of all her laws,
For such by nature is the human frame,
Our duty, and our int'rest are the same."

"How little they[2] God's counsels comprehend,
The universal parent, guardian, friend!
Who forming by degrees to bliss, mankind,
This globe our sportive nursery assigned.
Scarce any ill to human life belongs
But what our follies cause, or mutual wrongs,
Or if some stripes from Providence we feel,
He strikes with pity, and but wounds to heal."

[1] Origin of Evil, Boston edition, 68—71.
[2] Puritanical Divines.

"And soon as e'er these mortal pleasures cloy,
His hand shall lead us to sublimer joy;
Snatch us from all our little sorrows here,
Calm every grief, and dry each childish tear;
Waft us to regions of eternal peace,
Where bliss and virtue grow with like increase;
From strength to strength our souls forever guide,
Through wond'rous scenes of being yet untried."

"Oh could mankind but make these truths their guide,
And force the helm from prejudice and pride,
Were once these maxims fix'd, that God's our friend,
Virtue our good, and happiness our end,
How soon must reason o'er the world prevail,
And error, fraud and superstition fail!
None would hereafter, then, with groundless fear,
Describe the Almighty cruel and severe,
Predestinating some without pretence
To Heav'n, and some to Hell for no offence;
Inflicting endless pains for transient crimes,
And fav'ring sects, or nations, men, or climes."

"None would fierce zeal for piety mistake,
Or malice for whatever tenets sake,
Or think salvation to a few confin'd,
And Heav'n too narrow to contain mankind!"[1]

X. The excellent character and pure philanthropy of Henry Brooke, render him an ornament to any class of men among whose names his may be enrolled. He was born in Ireland, A. D. 1706, and educated at Dublin College; and soon removing to England he became very early in life, the friend and favorite of Pope, Swift, and other eminent men. Possessing the friendship of the Lords Littleton and Chatham, he was introduced to the Prince of Wales; and he soon, by his writings, obtained an unbounded popularity and made himself opulent. Driven back to Ireland by sickness, he became too strongly attached to the scenes of his youth, to be drawn again to England, even by the most earnest entreaties of his literary friends.

[1] See his works, London edition of 1790, vol. i.

The Fool of Quality, a fiction, has been regarded as his principal work. He breathed into it his expansive piety and good will, which the reader will find penetrating his own heart, as he contemplates the following high-sounding strain.

"And thus, on the grand and final consummation, when every will shall be subdued to *the will of good to all*, our Jesus will take in hand the resigned chordage of our hearts; he will tune them as so many instruments, and will touch them with the finger of his own divine feelings. Then shall the wisdom, the might, and the goodness of our God, become the wisdom, might and goodness of all his intelligent creatures; the happiness of each shall multiply and overflow, in the wishes and participation of the happiness of all; the universe shall begin to sound with the song of congratulation; and all voices shall break forth in an eternal hallelujah of praise, transcending praise, and glory, transcending glory, to God and the Lamb! There shall be no lapse thenceforward, no falling away forever; But God in his Christ, and Christ in his redeemed, shall be a will and a wisdom, and an action and a mightiness, and a goodness and a graciousness, and a glory rising on glory, and a blessing rising on blessedness, through an ever-beginning to a never ending eternity." [1]

[1] Fool of Quality, vol. v. The work appeared, 1766. The author died in 1783. As a Christian, he was inclined to the Methodists, but believed unwaveringly in the final salvation of all men. An edition has recently appeared in New York (1859) to which Rev. Charles Kingsley wrote a preface, who testifies of Brooke's and of his own faith in the Divine Benevolence and of its final triumph in all souls. The Fool of Quality originally appeared in five volumes. It caused great sensation in England, by its unique character and its literary excellences. The celebrated John Wesley was so impressed by it that he prepared an abridgement, which was published with his name as editor.

Dr. Adam Clarke, in a discourse directed against the fictions of his day, makes exception of a few writers whose aim was, under the guise of a novel, "to correct the vicious manners of the age, give a proper bias to the understanding, and a healthy direction to the feelings of the heart. . . . . At the head of these, said he, for pious and benevolent feeling, stands Henry Brooke. . . . . He leads you directly to God, the fountain of light, life, perfection and goodness." When the Doctor read the Fool

REV. JOHN HILDROP, M. A.

XI. One of Hildrop's works was entitled, "Free Thoughts upon the Brute Creation, wherein Father Bougeant's philosophical amusement, &c., is examined." In two letters to a lady. By John Hildrop, M. A., Rector of Warth, near Rippon, in Yorkshire, &c. London, 1750.

"And can we imagine" says this author with deep interest, "that this violent, this unnatural state shall last forever? Is the state of the whole creation so deplorably miserable, as to admit of no remedy, no hope of deliverance? Shall the eternal purposes of infinite wisdom, love and power be entirely defeated by the malice of evil spirits, and the infirmities of frail creatures? Is not this imputing too much to the creature, and derogating from the infinite wisdom, goodness and power of the Creator? Is not this saying in effect, that the Almighty Creator, the Father of mercies, and the God of all compassion, whose mercies are over all his works, is either unwilling or unable, to effect the eternal purposes of his infinite love? that the devil is more powerful to destroy, than God to save? And after all, what difficulty is there in comprehending, or what possible danger in asserting, that all the inferior creation, that fell with and in our first parents, and suffer for our transgression, shall at last be restored to their primitive

of Quality, he said it sometimes made him laugh and sometimes cry, and sometimes made him ready to go upon his knees.

A late writer (Rev. G. L. Demarest) says, it is remarkable that those distinguished lights of the Methodist Church, Mr. Wesley and Dr. Clarke, to say nothing of Dr. Strickland, their successor in the editorial work, did not qualify the praises of Brooke's novel, by animadversions upon his "heresy." They were personal acquaintances, nay, it would seem intimate friends, of the author. They knew his sentiments regarding the final issue of the Divine government. And yet they did not exclude him from the Christian name. On the contrary they commend his "pious and benevolent feeling." It would be well for their followers at the present day to learn somewhat of their liberal spirit; and to know that believing and speaking of the Fatherly disposition of God, and hoping and trusting firmly in his Fatherly goodness, does not necessarily imply an un-Christian character.

happiness, and be delivered from their present bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God?

* * * * * *

"And this, madam, opens to us a new sourse of wonder and love, worthy the most serious attention of a rational and religious mind, that there shall be a *universal restitution* of all that fell by Adam's transgression; when all that was lost in the *first Adam* shall be renewed in *the second:* that there shall be *new heavens* and a *new earth,* which shall be the habitation of righteousness, God has plainly and abundantly *promised by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.* Acts iii. 19, 20, 21; Is. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22; 2 Pet. iii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22; Rev. xxi. 1. Of the work of this author, see pp. 139, 140, 141.

XII. With Dr. Andrew Kippis we shall associate the editors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews, works whose wide circulation and long continuance sufficiently evince how highly they were prized by a literary, scientific and religious community. Dr. Kippis was a dissenting minister, and an author of great repute. The best known and most valued of his works is the Biographia Brittanica, biography being the kind of writing in which he seems to have delighted. He wrote the life of Captain Cook, and of Dr. Lardner, and was for several years concerned in the Monthly Review. It has been conjectured by some, that, in the following passage, the Dr. intimates his hope in the final salvation of all men.

Speaking of Lord Shaftsbury, he says, "There is a tradition, that amidst other difficulties which occurred to him in regard to the truth of the Christian Revelation, he was startled at the idea of its containing the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments; that he consulted some eminent churchmen whether the New Testament positively asserted that doctrine; and that upon being assured that it did, he declared himself incapable of assenting to a system of re-

ligion which maintained a tenet so repugnant to all his views of the benignity of the great Governor of the Universe.[1]

"If his Lordship had lived in the present day, he would have found a number of divines who would have given him quite a different answer. They would have informed him, that, in their opinion, Christianity holds out no doctrine of so dreadful a nature, and that at the very utmost, it only denounces the final extinction of the impenitently wicked; so that such, *if there be any such*, who after all shall remain incorrigibly corrupt and abandoned, will, at length, no longer exist in the creation of God." [2]

The partiality with which Universalism was regarded by the conductors of the Review, is manifested in every instance in which they are called to speak on the subject.[3] Are they reviewing a writer who defends endless misery? His theme to them is revolting; and how much praise soever they bestow on his intentions, his character, or style, they find nothing congenial to their own dispositions

[1] Here we have an instance of the prejudice which has been excited against Christianity, by the erroneous supposition that it inculcates the doctrine of endless pains. How strong a refutation is this of the trite objection, that Universalism leads men to infidelity, Deism and atheism. Universalism alone takes away from unbelievers the objections they urge against the holy system of Jesus, founded on the supposed cruelty of the punishments it denounces; this alone crowns the purpose of God with a glory which is worthy of infinite wisdom and love; and it holds out Christianity in the form best calculated to recommend it tomen of benevolent feeling and good sense.

[2] Biograph. Brittan. London, 1789. Article. Cooper, third Earl of Shaftsbury. Month. Repos. vii. 491.

[3] The Monthly Review was commenced in 1749, by Mr., afterward Dr. Griffiths. He designed the work, and edited it for many years. Among its contributors men of the most respectable character may be reckoned. Dr. William Rose, author of a well known translation of Sallust; Rev. William Ludlam, rector of Cuckfield in Sussex, and fellow of St. John's College; Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, afterwards connected with the College of William and Mary, in Virginia; Dr. Kippis, as already mentioned. One of the most constant contributors was Rev. Samuel Babcock, a respectable dissenting minister, who is said to have been the author of those elegant sermons, which were preached in the year 1784 at the Bampton Lectures; and this gentleman was for a long time connected with the proprietorship of the Monthly Review. See the Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature and the Arts, vol. xiii. 310, 311, London, 1822.

in the doctrine he advocates. But if the writer is a Universalist, they never are solicitous to hide their approbation of his sentiments, and indeed his theme sometimes secures their favor, and blunts the points of their fearless criticisms. [1]

XIII. A dignitary of the English church, renowned for his philosophical and moral researches, and for his concise but unanswerable defence of Christianity, claims our attention at this period. William Paley received his education at Christ's College in Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1763. We do not hesitate to say that, from his youth, Paley had an aversion to the doctrine of endless misery. When he was in college, a circumstance took place, illustrative of this fact. It was while Bishop Watson was Moderator, in whose words the relation shall be given.

"Paley, I remember, brought me for one of the questions he meant for his act, *Æternitas pœnarum contradicit divinis attributis.* I had accepted it; and indeed I never refused a question, either as Moderator, or as professor of divinity. A few days afterwards he came to me in a great fright, saying that the master of his college (Dr. Thomas, Dean of Ely) had sent to him, and insisted on his not keeping on such a question.

I readily permitted him to change it; and told him that if it would lessen his master's apprehensions, he might put in *non* before *contradicit,* and he did so." [2] All three of the parties in this transaction are censurable; Dr. Thomas for preventing the member of his college from defending a proposition which he had selected, and which he would

[1] To those who have the means of examining the huge piles of the volumes of the Monthly Review, we recommend the following references to places, where they will find proofs that the conductors were favorably disposed to the doctrine of Universalism, xxii. 79; xxviii. 311; xli. 101; lxi. 120, 122, lxiii. 316, et al. freq.

[2] Life of Bishop Watson, by himself, Philadelphia edition, 1818, pp. 19, 20. Monthly Repos. vol. xiii. 53.

have defended to great advantage; Watson for suggesting an expedient to which Paley could not conform without hypocrisy; and the latter for acceding to it. One of Paley's biographers has well said, "as he had first proposed to argue against the eternity of future punishments, we may suppose that *that* was his undissembled opinion; and therefore, it would have been more honorable to his candor, to have taken an entirely new question, rather than to have argued in opposition to his real sentiments. Through the whole course of his life, Dr. Paley seemed too willing to support established doctrines; and to find plausible reasons for existing institutions; and even in cases in which he must have felt those doctrines to be at variance with truth, and those institutions in opposition to the best interest of mankind. His great and vigorous mind ought to have disdained the petty subterfuges of disingenuous subtlety, and interested sophistication."[1] There cannot be a question that Paley through life, viewed with abhorrence the doctrine of never-ending misery. Where, in all his numerous writings, has he used an argument to prove that soul-chilling system? In the chapter on the Divine Benevolence, in his Moral Philosophy, he lays down principles diametrically opposed to the thought of endless suffering. That God does not will ultimately the misery of man, that he is not indifferent to human welfare, but that he has in all his works consulted the happiness of his creatures, are the propositions he maintains. He held, it is true, to the doctrine of future punishment; but, proportioning the penalty to the degree of crime, he maintained that "there may be very little to choose between the condition of some who are in hell, and others who are in heaven."[2] He advises us, in the end of his Natural Theology, to await death "under a firm and settled persuasion, that, living and dying, we

[1] See the Memoir of Paley prefixed to his works, New York edition, 1824, vol. 12.

[2] New York edition of his works, 1824, ii. 49.

are God's; that life is passed in his constant presence; that death resigns us to his merciful disposal." [1] But no detached sentences that we can quote from his works, nor any opinion that we can express of them, will beget in the reader's mind that satisfaction, that firm conviction of the unchanging and universal goodness of God, which a perusal would afford, than which nothing would more fully convince him that Paley believed in the universal and eternal welfare of the human race. It is probable, however, that his situation in the world, prevented a full and explicit disclosure of his views in regard to the final destination of the human race.[2]

XIV. Among those who have breathed doubts in regard to the doctrine of endless misery, and encouraged hopes of the salvation of all mankind, may be named Rev. James Foster, a learned clergyman, born in Exeter, England, in 1697. He had great abilities, a sound judgment, extensive learning and a ready and effective elocution. He began to preach at the age of twenty-one, and in 1748, received the degree of D. D. from the University of Aberdeen. Bolingbroke attributed to him the aphorism that, "where mystery begins, religion ends," which is certainly true, if we mean by a mystery a contradiction. Pope has mentioned him with commendation in the preface to his Satires. One great aim of Mr. Foster was to lead the people to understand the word of God in its proper sense. He said:

> And, indeed, it has happened, that the holy Scriptures, of all other books, have been most grossly perverted and abused this way. Common writings have, in the main, and unless in the heat of controversy, been treated with fairness and candor enough; but the writings of the Old and New Testament, by picking out of them little scraps, and separate portions, which cannot be understood only by attending to their connexion, nor urged as proofs of any thing, in opposition to the general view of the revelation, without rendering it perfectly unintelligible and useless, the sacred writings, I say, by

[1] New York edition of his works, vol. iii. 321.

[2] Monthly Repository.

being thus mangled and torn to pieces, have been represented as teaching the most absurd, nay, indeed, very impious and immoral doctrines. The building of doctrines, therefore, upon single texts may lead us into great and dangerous mistakes.

To the directions above mentioned about observing the general design of Scripture, and the connexion of particular passages, which is necessary in interpreting all writings whatever, let me add, that it is proper for us to make some allowances for the difference of languages, and the peculiar phrases and idioms used by the people, for whom the Scriptures were originally and more immediately designed. I shall explain this a little by the words *forever* and *everlasting*, which are far from having the same force, in the sacred writings, as they generally have in our own language. For it is certain, that they do not always signify a strict and absolute eternity, but very frequently a limited duration, and the sense of them is, in a great measure, to be determined by the subjects to which they are applied. Thus every one allows, that when we read of "everlasting mountains," Hab. iii, 6, the word means very differently from what it does, when God is said to be everlasting. Again, when it is said of Christ, that "he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end," Luke i. 33; we are to understand no more by it, than that he shall reign to the end of the world; for then, we are expressly informed by St. Paul, "he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, that God may be all in all." 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. In like manner, when we are told that Sodom and Gomorrah "are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire;" Jude v. 7; nothing more is meant, than a fire that made a full end of them, and was not extinguished, till those cities, with their inhabitants, were utterly consumed. In these passages, and in some others, which seldom regard things of real importance, we must allow for the change of languages, and different use of words; and the common people will, without much difficulty, fall into the true interpretation of all passages of this kind, if they follow but the natural and easy method of comparing one part of Scripture with another."[1]

[1] Dr. Foster flourished from 1725 to 1760. See Spark's Collection of Essays, &c. in Theology.

He repudiated the severe doctrines of vindictive satisfaction, and affirmed that the New Testament has not one word of infinite justice, not a syllable of the infinite evil of sin, and maintained most liberal ideas of the economy of God.

In a sermon on the Glory of God, under that head where he maintains "we are instrumental in advancing the glory of God in proportion as we advance the happiness of the rational and moral world," he says: "For the *end* of the Creator, in giving being, was to communicate *happiness*; and if he had originally intended, and absolutely determined, that his reasonable creatures should be miserable upon the whole, this must have destroyed the foundation of that esteem, and of those elevated conceptions of him, which the wise and good have ever entertained. And if the design to communicate happiness was sublime and generous in it-

XV. Thomas Amory, D. D., must be classed with James Foster, last named. He lived for many years in Taunton, in Somersetshire, but afterwards removed to London, where he formed acquaintance with the most respectable members of his profession. His discourses were liberal and were always thought to be good and often excellent. In the London Critical Review, for August, 1766, we find the following paragraphs under the head of Amory's Sermons, which involves the Reviewers as well as the Divine, in the suspicion of heresy:

"Nothing can be a greater prejudice to religion than a false and unpleasing opinion of the Supreme Being. He who looks upon him as a rigid and inexorable monarch, governing his creatures by severe and arbitrary laws; aiming at nothing but the advancement of his own glory; pleasing himself with the mortification of his creatures; predestinating the greater part of the world to destruction, without regard to their behavior; condemning them for a crime which they could neither commit nor prevent; and inflicting everlasting punishment upon the least violation of his laws; he who forms these false and uncomfortable notions of God, will never worship him without reluctance, nor think of him without horror. The idea will frighten and amaze the imagination, deaden all the activity of the soul, extinguish every spark of devotion, and overwhelm the mind with a load of despair; he will be either like the unprofitable servant, who misrepresented his master as "an austere man, reaping where he had not sown," and therefore "hid his talent in the earth:" or he will be like those evil spirits "who believe and tremble," yet never obey. A creature, conscious of his own demerits, will never serve God with pleasure, nor make any vigorous progress in virtue, till he entertains a more favorable opinion of his nature, a hope of his forgiveness, and a dependence on his love.

In order therefore to remove all false and gloomy apprehensions of the divine nature, the author of these Discourses directs our views to the noblest object of contemplation, *the goodness of God.*

As the subject is important, he examines it with particular attention; he explains the nature of this amiable perfection; he shows that reason and revelation evince the benevolence of the Deity: he points out many remarkable effects of this benign attribute in the works of creation, providence, and redemption: he describes its distinguishing properties: he answers the chief objections which have

self, and upon that account highly honorable to the Deity, it necessarily follows, that his glory must shine with a conspicuous lustre in the success of it."

been urged against it; and he concludes the whole with practical reflections.

In the beginning of the first discourse he opens the subject in the following animated manner:

This perfection of the Deity I would now engage you to contemplate. A perfection which gives the amiable lustre to the other attributes of God; rendering his omnipotence, omnipresence, infinite knowledge, and eternity, which separate from this would excite our wonder and dread, objects of veneration, love, and delight. Almighty, ever present, allwise, unchangeable and everlasting *goodness*, is the noblest object of contemplation, love and adoration to men, angels, and all intelligent beings. To this perfection we have been obliged for our existence, and for all our powers, capacities and objects of good; the thought of it is the most cheering amidst the wants, uncertainties, and distresses of the present state, and inspires into the bosom of the pious and righteous a tranquility and joy, which the world cannot give or take away; this supports their largest hopes for eternity, and brightens the shades of death; and from contemplating this perfection in the light of heaven, and answerably loving, adoring and celebrating the Father of the universe, from an entire resemblance to this truly divine quality, and from sharing in the full and everlasting communications of it, is derived the complete and eternal felicity of angels and saints."

XVI. Right Rev. Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, England, was probably a great doubter on the subject of endless misery. He very seldom mentioned the matter, and when he did, he expressed himself with great care, as if he would not commit himself to an unmistakable avowal of that doctrine. He was a man of literature, modest and unassuming, benevolent and winning, and stood high in the estimation of the king, who once desired to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical position in England, if not in all the world—the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. The humble bishop's reply was very striking. Several much greater men than he, he said, had died bishops of Worcester, and he felt that he ought to be content with the position which he held.

His works consist of eight octavo volumes, which were very carefully examined by Rev. L. R. Paige, about 1837, with special reference to the point whether Bishop Hurd

had avowed any where a belief in the doctrine of endless pains. In a letter to Dr. Sawyer, Mr. Paige said:

"That Dr. Hurd was a Universalist, I am strongly inclined to believe: though the proof of the fact is not so direct and conclusive, as in the case of Warburton. Warburton, as you will recollect, said nothing from which a belief in endless misery could be inferred; but frequently mentioned the salvation of all, in terms too plain to be misunderstood. On the contrary, though Hurd often taught the final salvation of all, yet there are passages, few indeed, in which he seems to teach the endless misery of a part. His Universalism, therefore, is to be sought and proved, if at all, like that of Tillotson."

Mr. Paige quoted the following passages, showing the manner in which the good bishop was accustomed to write and speak and preach on the salvat ion of our race:

"It was another and far sublimer purpose which He [Jesus] came to accomplish; a purpose, in comparison of which, all our policies are poor and little, and all the performances of man as nothing. It was to deliver a world from ruin; to abolish sin and death; to purify and immortalize human nature; and thus, in the most exalted sense of the words, to be the Saviour of all men, and the blessing of all nations." Vol. v. pp. 36, 37.

"It is unquestionable, therefore, from these and other passages, that not the Jews only, but all nations were to be instructed in the Christian faith; that the Gospel was to be an universal religion; and that thus the Messiah was to be, in every sense, the Saviour of mankind. There is no doubt I say, but that such is the language of the prophets; and that they clearly suppose the dispensation of the Gospel to have these views, and to terminate in this event." Vol. v. pp. 156, 157.

"The necessity [of the Gospel scheme] is apparent even to us, on the grounds of this very revelation. For its declared purpose was to rescue all men from the power of death, and to bestow upon them immortal life in happiness. But now the same Gospel that tells us this, tells us, withal, that as in Adam all men died, so in Christ, only, shall all men be made alive; and that, without the blood of Christ, there could be no remission of the forfeiture incurred by the transgression of Adam. You see, then, that to argue upon Gospel principles (and the fair inquirer can argue upon no other) the Christian dispensation was necessary to fulfil the purposes of God to man, and to effect that which the divine councils had decreed in relation to him." Vol. vi. pp. 60, 61.

"Such is the idea which the Scriptures oblige us to entertain of the manifold wisdom of God in Christ Jesus: *manifold*, as it pre-

sents to us the various evolutions of an eternal and infinitely extended dispensation of grace; but *one and the same*, with regard to the end in view, the redemption of a ruined world, and to the conduct and completion of them all by the means, and in the person of the Redeemer.

"What parts of this scheme lie out of the verge of our world, and how much of it hath respected, or may hereafter respect, other and higher natures by far, than the sons of men, it would be fruitless to inquire, as these deep things of God have not been distinctly revealed to us. Yet one thing deserves our notice, that the angels themselves desire to look into this scheme of salvation, 1 Peter i. 19; and are surely some way concerned in it, since it was designed to comprehend, and gather together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in Him."—Eph. i. 10. Vol. viii. pp. 23, 24.

But once more, and we have done. Speaking on the subject of Mark ix. 49, the words, being given as a reason and explanation of the doctrine, are not susceptible of any *vague interpretation*, like the words *eternal* or *everlasting*. in which it is usually expressed; but must necessarily be understood as implying and affirming the literal truth of the thing, for which they would account. And this being supposed, you see the use, the unspeakable importance of this text, as addressed to all believers in Jesus. But

II. There is another sence, of which the text is capable; and, if you think it not allowable to deduce a conclusion of such dreadful import from words of an ambiguous signification, you will incline perhaps, (as it is natural for us to do,) to this more favorable interpretation, which I am going to propose. Vol. vi, pp. 163, 164.

Notwithstanding the "unspeakable importance" of the first interpretation of the text, to believers in endless misery, Dr. Hurd abandons it at once, and suggests another which he calls "more favorable." He proceeds to explain the text to mean generally, that all who "would escape punishment by fire, in the world to come, shall be salted with fire, in the present world; that is, shall be tried with sufferings of one kind or other, can only expect to be continued in a sound and uncorrupt state, by afflictions; which must search, cleanse, and purify your lives and minds, just as fire does those bodies, which it refines, by consuming all the dross and refuse, contained in them." p. 167. Having sufficiently amplified this interpretation, he remarks that "such is probably the true sense of the text." p. 170. He sums up the matter thus:

"We see, then, that understanding this fire, with which every one shall be salted, of the fire of affliction only, which, like salt, is to try and preserve the moral integrity of all believers, and not of the fire which dieth not, and, according to the former interpretation, was to preserve offenders in a perpetual capacity of enduring future punishment, understanding, I say, this metaphor in the former sense, we have an easy, elegant, and extremely useful sense in the words of the text; a sense which perfectly agrees with what precedes the text,

and illustrates what follows it; whereas, in the other way of explaining these words, it will be difficult to show their coherence with the subsequent verse, though they admit an application to the foregoing." pp. 171, 172.

On the whole, says Mr. Paige, I believe the Bishop was a Universalist, and preached the doctrine as plainly as his views of prudence would permit.

XVII. Among those who doubted the doctrine of endless misery, we must place the name of the celebrated Dr. Richard Price. He was a dissenting minister, settled at Hackney, in England. He wrote on moral and metaphysical subjects. He received the diploma of D. D. from the University of Glasgow. One of his best works was, "Sermons on Christian Doctrine." In private life he was pure and lovely. Dr. Priestley, with whom Dr. Price once held a controversy, said, "For the most amiable simplicity of character, a truly Christian spirit, disinterested patriotism and true candor, no man, in my opinion, ever exceeded Dr. Price." Possessing such intelligence, and mildness, he could not be a bigot. He was obliged to confess that there is great doubt as to the truth of endless pains.

In one of his sermons, after speaking of the danger of finally losing our eternal salvation, he says:—

"I am sensible that there are some very wise and good Christians who think this cannot be the case ultimately with any human being; and that even the impenitent will (after a severity of punishment proportional to the different degrees of guilt) be recovered to virtue and happiness; and thus Christ's triumph over sin and death become at last universal and complete. This is an opinion which the feeling of every benevolent man would determine him eagerly to embrace, could it be shown to be consistent with the language of Scripture; and I dare not pronounce that it is not so."*

XVIII. We must here introduce the name of that illustrious divine, and fine writer, Dr. Hugh Blair. His sermons are in the hands of almost every divine, and have been preached as much, in one form or another, as those of

*Sermons on Christian Doctrine, p. 219.

any other man. Dr. Blair was pure, precise and dignified in his style; but it was not often that he rose to fervor. On one occasion, however, his theme took deeper hold of him, and he uttered words which led the sagacious to ask, "Was Dr. Blair a believer in Universal Salvation?" Look at the following extract from his 24th Sermon, which we should think proved that he inclined to the belief of the salvation of all men, were it not that certain expressions occur in other parts of his works, which are of a somewhat different character. The good doctor spoke on this wise:

"It is much to be lamented, that, among all denominations of Christians, the uncharitable spirit has prevailed, of unwarrantably circumscribing the terms of divine grace within a narrow circle of their own drawing. The one half of the Christian world has often doomed the other, without mercy, to eternal perdition. Without the pale of that Church to which each sect belongs, they seem to hold it impossible for salvation to be attained. But is this the genuine spirit of the gospel? Can a Christian believe the effects of the sufferings of Christ to be no greater than these! For this did the Son of God descend from the highest heavens, and pour out his soul unto the death, that only a few, who adopt the same mode of expression, and join in the same forms of worship with us, might be brought to the kingdom of heaven? Is this all *the deliverance he has wrought upon the earth? He was with child; he was in pain;* and shall he not *see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied?* Surely, the Scripture has given us full ground to conclude, that the trophies of the Redeemer's grace shall correspond to the greatness of his power."

The celebrated Hosea Ballou once said:

"It seems next to impossible to understand how the foregoing quotation can be rendered so as to accord with limited salvation, for no one will pretend that Dr. Blair would limit the power of the Redeemer.

But some may object, and contend, that this eminent divine has used expressions, in his sermons, which indicate that he believed in the common doctrine of endless misery. To this, again, it may be said, that it would be much easier to reconcile all such expressions, with the opinion that the whole human family will, finally, be made the happy subjects of salvation, than to reconcile the above quotation to any limitation of the trophies of the Redeemer's grace, so long as these are to correspond to the greatness of his power."*

*See Universalist Magazine vol. vii., p. 80.

XIX. Robert Hall, A. M., an eminent clergyman of the Baptist communion in England, if he did not have doubts himself, as to the reality of endless pains, has prepared the way for others to have them. He could defend that doctrine only on the presumption that it was consistent with the highest goodness and glory of God and the highest happiness of man. "If the eternal misery of a certain number can be rendered conducive to a greater amount of good in relation to the universe at large, than any other plan of action, then the attribute of goodness requires it; for I take it for granted, that the Supreme Being will adopt that scheme, *whatever it may be*, which will produce the greatest *quantity of happiness* on the whole." Thus then, it is just as probable that the doctrine of endless misery will be true, as it is that the race of men will be the happier for having a part endlessly damned.*

After having made such a remark, the Reverend writer proceeded to say,—

I would only add, that, in my humble opinion, the doctrine of the eternal duration of future misery, metaphysically considered, is not an essential article of faith, nor is the belief of it ever proposed as a term of salvation; that if we really flee from the wrath to come, by truly repenting of our sins, and laying hold of the mercy of God through Christ, by a lively faith, our salvation is perfectly secure, whichever hypothesis we embrace on this most mysterious subject. The evidence accompanying the popular interpretation is by no means to be compared to that which establishes our common Christianity; and, therefore, the fate of the Christian religion is not to be considered as implicated in the belief, or disbelief, of the popular doctrine.

Earnestly wishing you may be relieved from all painful solicitude on the question, and be guided by the spirit of God unto the paths of truth and holiness, I remain, your obedient humble servant, ROBERT HALL.

This is an important concession. The doctrine of end-

* In a sermon on the Spirituality of the Divine Nature, Mr. Hall said, "To this great Father of Spirits, the very minds which he had formed are in a state of mysterious subordination and subjection, so as to be forever incapable of transgressing the secret bounds he has allotted them, or doing anything more, whatever they may propose or intend, than concur in executing his plan, or fulfilling his counsel.

less misery *is not* an essential article of faith, nor is the belief of it ever proposed as one of the terms of salvation. On Mr. Hall's hypothesis, a man may be a good Christian, and may be in the way of eternal salvation, even if he reject the dogma of endless pains. This is what has led us to say, if Mr. Hall had no doubts himself, he has certainly prepared the way for other people to have them. These remarks occur in a letter he wrote to a gentleman at Trinity College, Cambridge, England, who was in great perplexity on the question of endless pains.*

XX. But there was a more eminent man even than Robert Hall, among the Baptists of England, his senior in years, his superior in eloquence, the idol of the denomination to which he belonged, who had great doubts on the question of endless misery. We refer to Rev. Robert Robinson, a man of extraordinary genius. He was settled over a congregation of that faith at Cambridge, the nursery of all that is great in literature; and here, by his eloquent appeals to crowded audiences, he obtained a wide popularity, and, by his works which he published, a lasting fame. But in the latter part of his life, his sentiments were radically changed; he became a Unitarian and almost a Universalist; and Dr. Priestley, at whose house he died, and for whom he had preached just before his death, declares that he never heard the doctrine of the trinity ridiculed in the manner it was done by Robinson. The respect which he entertained for the celebrated Elhanan Winchester, who was for several years, a popular preacher of Universal Restitution in England, and the view which he took of the opposition made to that sentiment, are at once a proof of the liberality of his heart, and raise in our minds a strong suspicion, that he maintained similar views with that great man.

* Works of Robert Hall, A. M. Published under the superintendence of Olinthus Gregory, LL.D., F. R. A. S., London, Henry G. Bohn, 1843. Eighth edition, Vol. V., pp. 527–529.

In a letter to a friend he said, "Mr. Winchester has been here and preached. I did not hear him. They preach and print against him. They pretend that God is of their temper, and will not bate a day of eternity. They never knew what criticism was, and they do nothing but chant *forever and ever.* Poor honies! servants that know not what their Lord doth. Tell one of them, "there are twenty-five millions in France, and there is not one among them like you. Are all these doomed by their own Father to endless and unavoidable woe?" They answer gravely, "Yes." Ask, what sort of a Father this is? They are never shocked; they never blush; but affirm, "this is wise, and just, and kind; and it will be more glorious to save me, and damn them, than it would be to share eternal life amongst us: and we few, though we hate one another here, shall be the happier for the damnation of the rest." Barbarians! what arrogant madness inspires you? Are you the excellent of the earth? "O! my soul, come not thou into their assembly; to such, mine honor, be not thou united. Cursed be their anger, for it is cruel."[1]

Of the circumstances of his introduction to Mr. Winchester, his biographer has preserved the following *jeu d'esprit.* "What," said he, "are you the man who thinks that God Almighty will burn the old tobacco pipes till they become white again?"[2] To which, there is a tradition that he added, "well, this is better than to break them." In his biography, we are assured that he had real fellowship for Mr. Winchester.[3]

By the following letter it will be perceived that Mr. Robinson had got wholly rid of his Calvinism before he died.

CHESTERTON, JAN'Y 10, 1788.

Dear Sir — For once you shall not have cause to complain of my delaying to write. If ..... wrote that letter which I received from Abingdon, I would advise him never to defend Calvin-

[1] Dyer's Life of Robinson, London edition of 1796, p. 286, 287.
[2] Ubi supra. [3] Ubi supra.

ism again, for he himself is one of the best and strongest arguments against it that ever I met with. My chief objection against Calvinism is the sourness of it. Even poor small beer is preserved till it acquires acidity, and then all reason for the preservation of it ceases. I consider ..... as one of the best natured men in London; but if Calvinism can spoil such a temper as his, it is a violent presumption against it. So now, his natural temper is good, but his system teaches him, "Sir, your nature is wicked, altogether wicked." * * * * * * * His manners are mild, gentle, benevolent; but his system teaches him it is a sin to treat erroneous people with benevolence, for there is a damning guilt in error, and he who doth not resist it is not sound in the faith; and if he is unsound, down he goes, chuck into the devil's jaws, who champs him as crows do a fresh bone. * * * * * * * * * If such a temper as ....."s can be so metamorphosed, as to throw about firebrands, arrows and death, for the comfort of idiots, the torment of infidels, and the glory of God, what are we to expect from the tempers of men who are naturally savage?"[1]

XXI. Rev. George Walker, F. R. S., has been placed among those who raised doubts as to the eternal durations of punishment; but we can scarcely avoid regarding him as a believer beyond doubt in the final happiness of all men. He advanced through regular courses of education until he entered the University of Edinburgh; thence in 1752, he removed to Glasgow, in both of which places he enjoyed the attention and patronage of the professors and other men of eminence. In 1756, he was ordained and settled at Durham, where mingling clerical and scientific duties, he finished his doctrine of the sphere, "an astonishing and elegant work, which he had commenced at the early age of eighteen." Thence he removed to Yarmouth, and during his residence there, he had the offer of the situation that Dr. Priestley afterwards occupied in the family of the Marquis of Lansdowne, but which he declined. He was elected mathematical professor of the academy at Warrington, where he lived two years, when he removed to Nottingham, the great theatre of his exertions and his usefulness.

[1] Dyer's Life of Robinson, London, 1796, pp. 285, 286.

To accept the office of theological professor in the new college at Manchester, he left Nottingham in 1798. For the last two or three years of his connexion with this college, he had the additional charge both of the mathematical and classical departments; in a word, the whole institution rested on his shoulders; but to this task his advanced age and declining health were unequal. As a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, he took an active part, and on the death of Dr. Percival, was elected President. All these offices he was obliged to resign to seek that retirement which increasing maladies so loudly called for.

Four volumes of his sermons have appeared at different times. Two were published in 1790, which, to use the words of Wakefield, "are pregnant with the celestial fire of genius, and the vigor of noble sentiments." Those he was induced to republish towards the close of his life, with two additional volumes, and two volumes of essays. He died April 21st, 1807.

The following extract is from a sermon on the parental character of God. "A parent among men, is, as it were, the creator of his children; and in the whole progress of the relation, he is their protector, provider, legislator and friend; he is the instructor of their reason, the guardian of their morals; his discipline chastises their passions; he connives not at a crime; he punishes in love, with a wise, a provident and benevolent view to their highest improvement, and to their highest capacity for sincere enjoyment and happiness; while with all his affection he springs forward to embrace them, in whatever degree they appear, in the dignified and lovely form of wisdom and moral goodness. Such is the God of Jesus Christ to all mankind; and thus in the application of God to our minds, Christ, who never trifles, who mixes not imagination with truth, who instructs in every word, from whom, even in his fables, we should expect a consistency with what he knew

of God, of another world, and of the dispensations of justice, of holiness and mercy."[1]

In the sermons on future punishment, the author clearly manifests his belief that all suffering will produce good, and will finally end.

"Some," he says, "have thought that they could not clothe the future punishment of sin with sufficient terrors, and have given, therefore, such exaggerated descriptions of them, both as to degree and duration, as, in the opinion of many, can no way be reconciled with just sentiments of God."[2] He maintained that the punishment of sin would not be inflicted by any direct act of the Almighty, but would be the natural consequence of sin; that it would be a mental rather than a corporeal punishment. And among other reasons why he adopts these opinions, he states that he does it, "because it leaves God unimpeached, even by the miserable sufferer himself, in representing his punishment to be the necessary consequence of that evil part which he has chosen; and not the arbitrary punishment and infliction of the benevolent Father of good, who does not delight in the punishment and misery of any creature he has made; because, in fine, the viewing the future punishment of the wicked in this light, does in its nature suppose a capacity of being relieved from it, of gradually acquiring that better state of mind and returning inclinations towards virtue, which is the first and most desirable end of all punishment."[3]

CLOSE OF THE VOLUME.

XXII. At this point we are obliged to close the first volume of the work. It was our original intention to put the whole of the European part into the first volume, and all the

[1]Sermons by George Walker, F. R. S., vol. i. 395, 396.
[2]Ibid, iv. 98.
[3]Sermon by George Walker, &c., iv 125.

American part into the second. But we are baffled in that design. Facts have accumulated so much upon our hands, we have found our original plan unfeasible. There are many important truths appertaining to our doctrine in England which are yet to be named. Some of the noblest, most honored and beloved of the scholars of that country remain to be mentioned. But with all these, our work would be incomplete, unless we have a chapter on Universalism in Belles Lettres. That doctrine pervades a great deal of the poetry, and high moral fiction, not only of late but of former years. The quotations we have already given from the religious fiction, written by Henry Brooke, the "Fool of Quality," and from Milton, Soame Jennyns and Dr. Edward Young, are proofs of this. Our next volume shall close up the history in England, and open up as far as possible the chapter on Universalism, in poetry and polite literature. But the greater part of the second volume will be taken up with the history of Universalism as a great doctrine, and of the Universalists as a sect, in the United States of America. A separate chapter will be devoted to each State. It is not possible that the American part of our history can be compressed into less than three hundred pages of the second volume. We do not venture to foretell the exact time when that volume shall appear. We hope it will be within a few months. But so much depends on our health, which has suffered frequent interruptions of late, we promise only this one thing, that the book shall come out with as little delay as our strength shall enable us to bear. The Lord will be with us unto the end.

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